The China Weekly REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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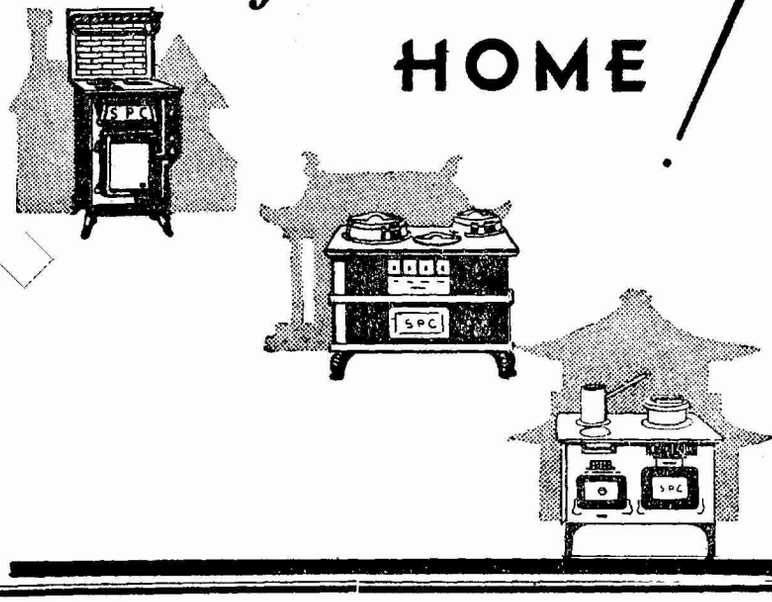

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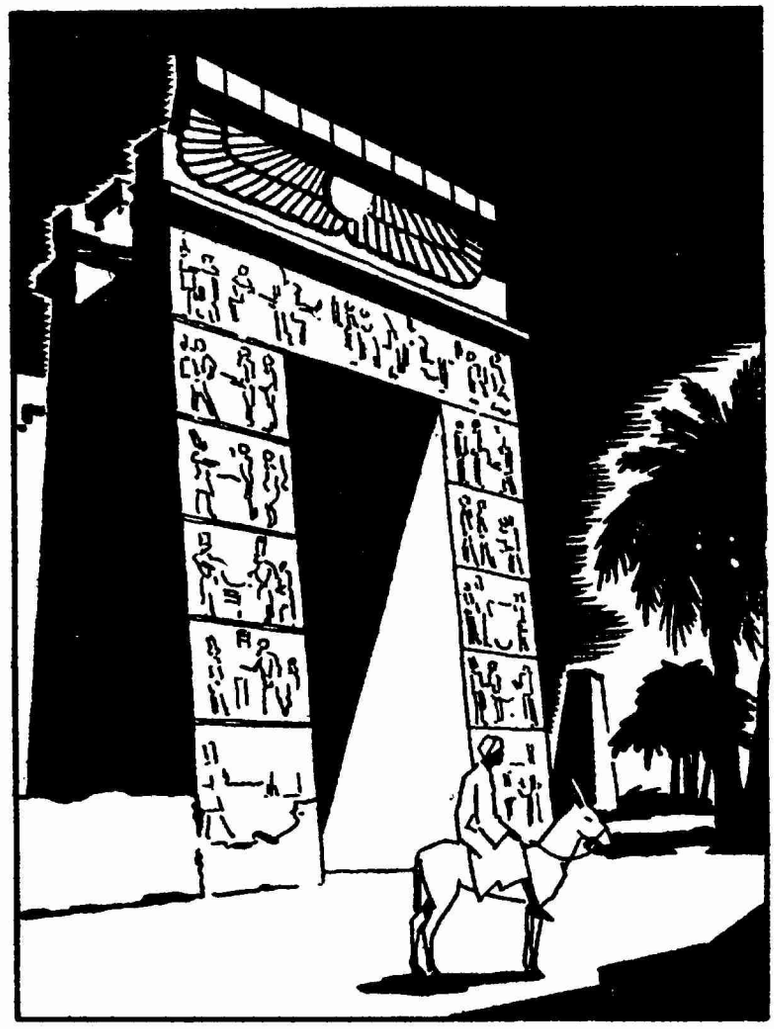

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

C. Y. W. MENG — DANIEL J. LEE
S. C. YANG (Harbin) — CHANG YA-CHUEN
MARK M. LU (Honan) — FLORENCE WONG (London)

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
J. J. Underwood—Correspondent
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JUST WHERE DO THE SOVIETS STAND ON MANCHUKUO ISSUE?

INSPIRED reports broadcasted through the official Japanese news agencies tell of the growing friendship between Manchukuo and the Soviets. The *Press Union* service on September 20 circulated a report that Manchukuo, although the new state is less than two weeks old, has already dispatched consuls to various Siberian towns including Vladivostok, Habarovsk, Blagoveschensk and Chita. Also it was stated that Russia is sending a special envoy with the object of adjusting the diplomatic relationship between the two countries, and finally it was forecasted that Manchukuo would be recognized by Russia in the coming November. Then there was a brief report from Nanking which may or may not have been of significance, but it stated that a Wu Huan-chang, member of the Heilungkiang provincial party headquarters who had attempted to travel back to his home province by way of Vladivostok and the Trans-Siberian Railway had been refused permission by the Soviet authorities and in consequence had been compelled to return to China. A further element of some significance has been the complete silence of the official Soviet *Tass* news agency on the question of Japan's recognition of Manchukuo.

One therefore wonders what the Soviets intend to do about the new status of Manchukuo, it being realized of course that with a contiguous boundary of some 2,000 miles between Manchukuo and Siberia, the two countries must have some form of diplomatic relations despite their feelings otherwise. Among the many strange happenings since the Japanese intervened in Manchuria a year ago has been the seeming complaisancy of the Russians with regard to the manner in which the Japanese have played fast and loose with Soviet interests in North Manchuria. Soviet citizens have been arrested and jailed and according to report practically all Soviet citizens have been discharged from the employ of the Soviet owned Chinese Eastern Railway. When the Chinese authorities did practically the same thing in 1929 the Soviets were quick to act. Chinese frontier towns were bombed and raided and the Soviet Far Eastern army was well on its way to Harbin when the Chinese caved in and complied with Soviet demands. But now the Soviets are putting up with Japanese insults and persecution —and all, announcedly, because Russia is anxious

to complete the Five-Year-Plan of industrialization and doesn't intend to permit a little thing like Japanese aggression to interfere with the main idea. The lack of definite information regarding the exact relations between China and the Soviets has been responsible for all kinds of rumors about alleged diplomatic deals between Japan and Russia, China and Russia, and even between Russia and the United States. On the China-Russian front it is reported that Moscow has refused to help China unless China is willing to let the red-bandits in Central China alone, and as for Japan and Russia there are the usual reports of territorial trades—at China's expense—the Russia will permit Japan to have a free hand in Manchuria so long as the Japanese keep out of Outer-Mongolia and that Russia shortly will annex Chinese Turkestan anyway. Regarding Russian-American relations there was a report from Berlin that the United States was trying to obtain a naval base on Kamchatka in exchange for recognizing the Soviets. Then there was another report that the United States had promised to recognize the Soviets if the Soviets wouldn't recognize Manchukuo and would support the Hoover-Stimson policy. Finally there was the report this week that the Japanese, owing to their animosities against the United States, had decided to cease purchasing their naval oil supplies from America and were dickering for supplies from the Soviet wells at Baku.

WAR-LORD ARAKI'S SCHEME TO PURIFY JAPANESE POLITICS

POLITICAL parties and parliaments over the world are notoriously corrupt, always have been corrupt, due to the obvious fact that they are composed of human beings who have all of the weaknesses of average human beings. It has been said that one of the effects of the growth of democracy has been to spread the graft and squeeze of governmental administration among a greater number of people. When governments are controlled by absolute monarchs and dictators the emoluments which go with the job are naturally restricted to a few individuals, but when more people are let into the business of government, it usually means that more people are let in on the graft, despite all restrictions designed to prevent such things. Elsewhere in this issue of *The Review* appears an illuminating article dealing with the government of Japan which shows that parliamentary government in Japan doesn't amount to much as compared with governmental systems in Occidental lands. But there are the beginnings of democracy in Japan and with the development has come the natural accompaniment of political corruption.

But General Araki, Minister of War, and his associates in the Military clique, who are outside of the constitution and subject only to the Emperor, would eliminate all this parliamentary graft and corruption. According to a report which appeared in the *Kokumin Shimbun* a secret conference was held at the Tokyo military club on September 9 which was attended by War Minister Araki and four other high military officers and more than 100 business men connected with leading banks and companies who previously had served in the army. Presumably businessmen who have had army service are supposed to be less subject to graft, but at any rate Gen. Araki has launched a movement for the purification of parliamentary politics. The report stated that "unless an effectual end is quickly put to the corrupt practices of parliamentarians, they fear, the future interests of the state will be seriously compromised." In order to accomplish this end Chief War-Lord Araki and his associates have decided to launch a nation-wide movement by mobilizing the entire force of ex-soldiers societies and through them enlisting the help of financial leaders of military antecedents. There are more than 3,000,000 ex-soldiers in Japan who have had service in the army under the system of universal conscription. The report alleged that the Diet or parliament has fallen so low in public esteem that its proceedings are now popularly dubbed "monkey-play." Gen. Araki was quoted as declaring that the political parties are more intent on the furtherance of their respective partisan interests than upon the true interests of the State. He also declared that Diet discussions pertaining to diplomatic problems often end by injuring national interests seriously. To remedy this situation the Military Clique decided that before anybody should be permitted to petition the Diet, they should first be compelled to consult the ex-soldiers' societies in order that only the "true" interests of the people generally may be laid before the parliamentary body. Also it was decided that only such candidates as have the same "true" interests of State at heart should be elected to the Diet. All professional politicians would be barred!

A perusal of the report in the *Kokumin* however, leads one to wonder whether Gen. Araki and his associates are not really more intent on the complete abolition of parliament than in the elimination of so-called political corruption. Before the *coup d'etat* in Tokyo which placed the Military Clique in control of the Government, there was some prospect of genuine parliamentary government becoming a factor in Japan. But since the Diet was threatening the prerogatives of the Military Clique by cutting military appropriations, the War Department took things in hand and launched its private campaign into China. Now the War Group would perpetuate its present exalted position by bringing the Diet under the control of the military, which as stated, is not subject to parliamentary control and only is subject to the Son of God who rules in the Imperial Palace and who, theoretically, is subject to no one on this lowly earth. We do not wish to cast aspersions on the claims of the Japanese militarists that they are impervious to graft and corruption, but we might mention that there are a considerable number of persons at Shanghai who are not so entirely convinced of this point, particularly in view of the wholesale smuggling that took place at this port while the Japanese Army and Navy authorities were in control. According to reports which appeared in the local newspapers, much of which undoubtedly was true, hundreds of motor cars, thousands of tons of Japanese sugar and other commodities were smuggled into Shanghai through the connivance of the Japanese military authorities who had command of the Shanghai intervention. It is possible of course that the military officers connived at this practice from patriotic motives as most of the smuggling was in Japanese commodi-

ties. Naturally the Japanese militarists would be above accepting bribes for such services rendered to ordinary business men, but there is a possibility that the Japanese war-lords thought a little graft might be permissible here since this is China and the practice benefitted the Japanese people, or at least their industrialists.

SOME RECENT EXAMPLES OF FAR EASTERN "POETIC JUSTICE"

ACCORDING to our dictionary the term "poetical justice" means that ideal of justice according to which crimes should be punished and virtues rewarded in accordance with the ideas of authors and critics of the former classical school as proper to a poem, drama or other literary work. With this definition in mind, we suggest the following as recent examples of Far Eastern poetical-justice:

The murder of Gen. Chang Chung-chang, exbadit war-lord of Shantung in Tsinan, the provincial capital where he ruled for so many years and where Gen. Chang himself was responsible for innumerable murders, including two judges of the Shantung supreme court and at least six newspaper editors. Chang was murdered by the son of one of his victims.

Another example was the capture and robbing, including all of his clothing, of Henry W. Kinney American propagandist employed by the Japanese in the head office of the South Manchuria Railway. Kinney was on his way to Geneva as an adviser to Manchukuo and according to the report, the Manchurian bandits not only took Kinney's clothing and personal effects but also bagged a considerable quantity of highly private and confidential documents which Kinney was carrying to Geneva for his Japanese employers. During his long employment as head of the propaganda department of the Japanese railway in Manchuria, Mr. Kinney has distributed over the world, but chiefly in America, many millions of words of Japanese propaganda in the form of books, pamphlets, reports and so on, all of which have lauded the "beneficence" of Japanese military administration in the establishment of "peace and order" in Manchuria. Now, after the Japanese have completely taken over Manchuria and established their "paradise on earth," the Manchurian bandits proceed to wreck the train on which Mr. Kinney was traveling and strip him of all his property, including a further copious supply of Japanese propaganda which Kinney was planning to pass out at the forthcoming League meeting in Geneva. Fortunately, Mr. Kinney succeeded in escaping from his captors and according to the report arrived in Harbin several hours later attired in a discarded potato-sack and piece of canvas.

The third example of Far Eastern poetical-justice which we have in mind is the present unenviable predicament of the Japanese-owned cotton mills in Shanghai, resulting from the action of the Japanese Government in recognizing the independence of Manchukuo. Heretofore the Japanese mills in Shanghai have enjoyed a profitable trade in Manchuria, selling between 30 and 40 percent of their output in that Chinese territory. Now, since the Japanese Government has declared Manchukuo an independent state and created a tariff barrier between Manchukuo and China, it means the Japanese mills in Shanghai will be severely handicapped since they will be compelled to pay an export duty from China and the import duty into Manchukuo. The proprietors of the Japanese mills, most of whom live in Osaka, were the first to squeal after the Japanese announced their recognition of Manchukuo. Poetical-justice!

SEPTEMBER 18 ANNIVERSARY PASSES OFF PEACEFULLY IN SHANGHAI

SEPTEMBER 18, the anniversary of the seizure of Mukden, passed off in Shanghai without any incident, mainly for the reason that the Japanese community—very wisely, in view of past events—decided, unlike on previous anniversaries, to make no display whatever. The decision to soft pedal the event in Shanghai was made by the Japanese Consular authorities, and the Japanese community loyally obeyed the behest to make no display of any kind. A tour of the Hongkew district, which is the Japanese stronghold in Shanghai, failed to locate a single Japanese flag flying anywhere. There was no shouting of "banzai," no processions of Japanese monks singing the Japanese national anthem, nor any swaggering by Japanese groups, neither was there any public gathering of Japanese in the Hongkew park or anywhere else. These details are mentioned because it is the first time that the Japanese community in Shanghai has had the good sense not to make any display. It will be remembered that the celebration of the Japanese Emperor's birthday at the Hongkew Park, on April 29, which ended abruptly when a Korean hurled a bomb which caused injury to a group of Japanese generals and other officials, two of whom later died, was held despite a suggestion from the Shanghai Municipal Council that such a celebration should not be held in view of the strained situation existing. It was at the time quite unexpected that the thunderbolt would come from a Korean and not from a Chinese.

The Hongkew district has by this time fairly recovered from the Japanese onslaught at the beginning of the year, and confidence in Shanghai as a safe place for residence has again been restored to a certain extent among the Chinese public, although real estate values show a considerable drop, particularly in the Hongkew district. Japanese attempts at interfering with the usual routine of Municipal administration have on several occasious of late received a severe jolt, the two outstanding incidents being when several weeks ago Japanese Marines tried to kidnap a streetcar employee and were foiled by the Municipal Police and more recently when Japanese consular police in plain clothes were caught redhanded by Chinese members of the French Police force while trying to make an illegal arrest in the French Concession. In that instance the Japanese were really trying to get hold of a Korean, but being foiled in that they tried to make away with a Chinese instead. The Japanese police in that incident were taken to the French police station and not released until officials from the Japanese Consulate appeared to explain the situation with as good grace as they could muster.

Hongkew in these days certainly presents quite a different aspect than it did during the hectic days of February. Then everything was under the Japanese thumb. Posters in the Japanese language, issued by the Japanese Naval Authorities "assured" the Chinese populace that all they had to do was to go about as usual as the Japanese marines were there to keep order and they should not be "afraid." While these posters were being put up peaceful Chinese citizens, thousands of them in various areas, who were paying their taxes to the Shanghai Municipal Council and as such entitled to protection from it, were being forcibly detained in their homes by Japanese Marines at the point of bayonets and with barbed wire around the premises which they occupied. The only reason for such action on the part of the Japanese Marines that one could fathom was that they felt the Chinese community was "insulting" them for not accepting their assurances of protection at face value. The Japanese for the first three months of the year paralyzed the ordinary Municipal administration in Hongkew, bullied the Chinese community, bands of irresponsible Japanese searched Chinese pedestrians at will and regularly assaulted them, and generally made life unbearable for the Chinese community. But in the end the Japanese descent on Shanghai was proved to be a failure. The Japanese naval and military forces were not really able to protect the lives of Japanese residents. The larger part of the Japanese community ordinarily resident here fled to Japan and did not return until after the Japanese forces had retired. Since then Hongkew has been peaceful and incidents between Chinese and Japanese are few and far between. A boycott against the Japanese is being persistently conducted, and only occasionally is there a bomb thrown by a Chinese group to give emphasis to the campaign. It will be remembered that the announced object of the Japanese military descent of the Japanese was to stop the boycott. That attempt was a failure as the trade statistics have shown. An anniversary such as that of September 18 is a fitting moment to recall these facts. Japan is able to get away with a whole lot in Manchuria which she has found out she can not get away with here in Shanghai. Here unlike in Manchuria the Japanese must come out into the open, and in most instances that is sufficient to bring disaster to any high-handed operations.

Chinese flags generally were flown at half-mast throughout the two Foreign Settlements and the Chinese authorities maintained martial law in the territory under their jurisdiction around Shanghai and reports from various interior points showed that the authorities generally frowned upon any sort of demonstration. A notable exception was Peiping, the former capital, where a memorial meeting was called at the open space outside the Tien An Men (Gate). Several processions of demonstrators marched in, and posters urging the expansion of the anti-Japanese movement and recovering of lost territories in the north-east appeared all over the city. Anti-Japanese speeches were delivered at various corners of the city and anti-Japanese shows were staged at many theatres. The demonstrations were entirely peaceful.

CHINESE GENERALS CLASH IN SHANTUNG—CIVIL WAR PRECIPITATED

A MINIATURE civil war has been precipated in Shantung province as the result of a dispute between General Han Fu-chu, chairman of the Shantung provincial government, and General Liu Chien-nien, divisional commander, with headquarters at Chefoo. The dispute seems to have its origin in the division of military revenues and the allocation of respective spheres of influence, although General Han Fu-chu in a recent telegram from Tsinan to General Chiang Kai-shek at Hankow charges General Liu with illegal exactions on the people and connivance at bandit activities. General Han stated that in view of the rampancy of bandit activities in General Liu's garrison district, he despatched recently a small detachment of provincial forces to assist in the suppression of the banditry. General Liu, however, made a surprise attack upon the Provincial Forces, thereby precipitating a clash.

General Liu Chen-nien is a graduate of Paotingfu Military College, and first came into prominence when he served as a regimental commander under Chang Tsung-chang's Army while Chang was Military Governor of Shantung. In 1928, when the Chihli-Shantung Allied Army collapsed and was driven out of Shantung by the Nationalist Revolutionary Forces, Liu joined the Revolution and fought against the remnants of the Chihili-Shantung Allied Army. While he was engaging the latter to the east of Kiaochow the Tsinan Incident of May 3 occurred. After the success of the Revolution in pacifying North China, Liu was appointed commander of the new Third Division by the National Government which was soon expanded and reorganised as the 17th Army with himself as Commander. Later his Army was again re-organised and reduced to a Division—the 21st Division—which has been stationed in various districts of eastern Shantung during the past five years. At present, he has 40,000 men under his command who are all well-equipped, although nominally he has only one Division, which ought to consist of not more than 20,000 men.

A Tsingtao telegram, September 19, stated that consequent upon the advance of General Han Fu-chu's troops in the Pingtu and Kiaochow sector with their base at the latter town, General Liu Chen-nien's forces destroyed a bridge on the Kiaochow Shaoho motor road and have retreated to Laichow. Skirmishes between the two factions have been frequent between small bodies of troops since September 16, but reports state that General Han Fu-chu, having 120,000 soldiers against General Liu's 30,000 intends to subjugate his opponent before the end of the month. Carts and animals in the Tsingtao area are being commandeered preparatory to an advance in force eastwards by General Han's men.

The indications are that hostilities will continue for an extended period and the situation has become so serious that Leroy Weber, the American Consul at Chefoo, has advised the American Baptist missionaries at Laichowfu to withdraw immediately. The American Southern Baptists at Hwanghsien and the Presbyterians at

Tienchow were advised to hold themselves ready for immediate evacuation. At Chefoo the cruiser *Chao Ho*, belonging to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang's northwestern squadron, is standing by and there is much conjecture regarding the attitude of Admiral Shen Hung-lieh, who now controls Weihaiwei and Tsingtao. Admiral Shen, as Mayor of Tsingtao, in an announcement on the general situation in Shantung said that he would land a Chinese naval party in the city, the citizens of which were assured that peace would be preserved.

General Han Fu-chu, in his report to General Chiang Kai-shek above referred to, charged that General Liu had been making unheard of extortions and exactions from the people under the pretext of raising military requisitions. Wealthy inhabitants were often kidnapped and held for ransom. According to reports, General Liu had exacted as much as $250,000 from one victim in Huanghsien, while cases where he extorted ransoms for amounts ranging from $20,000 to $80,- are so numerous that they can hardly be enumerated, General Han charged. The following are extracts from General Han's report:

> "I respectifully submit that holding the key to the Huang Hai (Yellow Sea) and the Gulf of Chihli, Chefoo occupies a position of great importance, especially in view of the fact that since the Manchurian crisis of September 18, 1931, there has been an incessant chain of foreign gunboats passing through the port. The said Divisional Commander (General Liu), being charged with the garrisoning of that city, should have made every effort to secure peace and tranquility for the people and to plan and carry out his garrison duties in a proper way so that trouble may be averted. He paid however absolutely no regard to the sufferings of the people or the difficulties of the situation. His one care has been the extortion of the people in order to replenish his own purse; pretending all the while to be unaware of the banditry which has become increasingly rampant in his garrison district. Mindful of my responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order throughout the province, I despatched therefore a few small detachments of troops to assist the said Divisional Commander in suppressing the banditry in order to restore peace and order. Looking upon his garrison district as his private domain, the said Divisional Commander suddenly made a surprise attack upon the troops which had been sent to suppress banditry. A clash was thus precipitated. At first, I thought that it was probably due to some misunderstanding. Since my arrival in eastern Shantung, however, I have discovered that he has long been harboring similar ambitions and that the attack was therefore made with ulterior motives."

On September 20 General Han issued an order for 5,000 troops then standing by at Tsinan, to advance to Yangchieukou via the Saotsing river. General Liu has sent a telegram to General Han expressing surprise at General Han's activities, adding that in order to avoid any misunderstandings he had given orders to his troops to withdraw towards Chefoo. In Nanking the general feeling, as reflected in the press, is that whatever mistakes General Liu, the semi-independent warlord controlling the Chefoo district had made, General Han ought to have referred the matter to the Central Government and not attempted to pass judgment on his own account and launch a private expedition. At any rate the incident will prove a good opportunity for the recently organized Association to Prevent Civil War to make its influence felt. In the meantime also General Chiang Kai-shek has telegraphed both to General Han and General Liu instructing them to cease all warlike activities and to await further instructions from the Central Authorities for a settlement of their dispute. General Chiang has also instructed General Chiang Po-cheng, member of the Standing Committee of the Peiping Branch of the Military Affairs Commission, to proceed immediately to Shantung to make an investigation as well as to bring about an amicable settlement. In his capacity as Minister of War, General Ho Ying-chin, also telegraphed both to General Han and General Liu instructing them to avoid any clash.

Moscow Replies to Protest Against Withdrawal of Rolling Stock From C. E. R.

The Soviet Government has replied to the note of the diplomatic commissar of Kirin Province, handed to M. Slavutski, Soviet consul-general at Harbin, on May 28 last, protesting against the withdrawal from the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Ussuri Railway of certain locomotives from among those purchased for the Soviet railways and left stranded on the Chinese Eastern Railway during the inter-allied intervention in Siberia in 1918-19. The Soviet reply states that the locomotives referred to in the Kirin protest are not the property of the Chinese Eastern Railway and are therefore not listed in the inventory of C. E. R. properties. "They belong", declares the Soviet Government, "to the railways of the U.S.S.R. for which they were purchased in their time, subsequently being left stranded on the Chinese Eastern Railway owing to the intervention in Siberia."

The reply proceeds: "This unquestionable fact, evidenced by documents, is known to the board of the Chinese Eastern Railway and there can be no doubt as to the right of the government of the Soviet Union to use and dispose of these locomotives, just as there is no doubt that the Chinese Eastern Railway is the property of the U. S. S. R.," being jointly managed by both parties on the basis of the Peking and Mukden agreements."

The note further states that the Soviet representatives on the Chinese Eastern Railway are strictly guided by instructions of the Soviet Government to closely observe and steadfastly carry out the terms of the Peking and Mukden agreements and to seek the achievement of full agreement in work by both parties.

The *Tass* agency in giving this news, mentions that during the anti-Soviet intervention by the allied powers in 1918-19, in which China participated, the locomotives forming the subject of these exchanges were stranded at Vladivostok. From there they were moved to Manchuria, to the Chinese Eastern Railway.

[This very emphatic and independent reply by the Soviets has its genesis most probably in the desire of the Soviets to be in an excellent bargaining position when the inevitable negotiations for the rendition of this railway by them either to the Chinese or to the Japanese are taken up. Under existing conditions a great part of the railway is under Japanese control, and as an investment for the Russians it is a white elephant.—Ed. *C. W. R.*]

Kwangtung Province Strengthens Coast Defenses

A recent *Reuter* telegram from Canton stated that the military authorities of Kwangtung are devoting considerable attention to "national defense measures" for southwest China. Strategic points along the coast have been fortified and all fortresses in the neighborhood of Canton reinforced. General Chow Chi, chief-of-staff of the 3rd Army, who, in company with General Li Chi-tsi, commander of the Tigris Forts, after returning from an inspection tour reported the completion of defense works in Swatow and other coastal cities of Kwangtung. According to General Chow, new guns have been mounted at the Tigris Forts and the defense force there is sufficient for any emergency.

To protect Canton against aerial raids anti-aircraft guns have been placed in position and army aviators are shortly to practise night-flying with a view to meeting possible night attacks by air.

In connection with this "national defense scheme," the Southwest Political Council has, upon the proposal of General Li Tsung-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi, passed a resolution to create the post of defense commissioner for the Kwangsi borders and to appoint General Li Ping-hsien, veteran Kwangsi commander, to be the first commissioner. The headquarters of the new commissioner will be established at Lungchow.

The Name Is the Same But the Doctrine Is Different!

VISCOUNT KENTARO KANEKO, member of the Japanese Privy Council, who apparently played a not inconsiderable part in the negotiations at Washington which paved the way for the holding of the Russo-Japanese peace parleys in Portsmouth, Maine in 1905 recently quoted an alleged statement by the late Theodore Roosevelt purporting to support Japan's contentions in respect to an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. Viscount Kaneko's statement was made in the course of an address before practically all of the high officers of the War Department and the Tokyo General Staff on August 31. He stated that after President Roosevelt's mediation for a peace conference between Russia and Japan to be held in the United States, had been accepted, he (Viscount Kaneko) was invited to lunch at the White House and this was followed by a personal invitation to the Viscount to visit Roosevelt at the President's summer home at Oyster Bay.

Viscount Kaneko's description of his conversation with President Roosevelt twenty-seven years ago at the President's summer home at Oyster Bay was to the following effect, the report of Kaneko's recent statement being reproduced from the *Japan Times* for September 1:

> Next morning after breakfast, sitting on the piazza, the President and I discussed many problems of the "after-war" policy of Asia, among them a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" in Asia, which he strongly advised. And now when Japan's policies in Asia are causing anxiety and even alarm to other Powers, I venture to believe that the time has come when President Roosevelt's far-reaching views may usefully be given to the world; however, I do not at this distance of time pretend to repeat the exact words of our conversation, which took place nearly twenty-eight years ago, but its substance made such an ineffaceable impression upon my mind as can never be forgotten as long as I live.
>
> "Japan is the only nation is Asia," said the President, "which understands the principles and methods of Western civilization. She has proved that she can assimilate Western civilization, yet not break up her own heritage. All the Asiatic nations are now faced with the urgent necessity of adjusting themselves to the present age. Japan should be their natural leader in that process, and their protector during the transition stage, much as the United States assumed the leadership of the American continent many years ago, and by means of the Monroe Doctrine, preserved the Latin American nations from European interference, while they were maturing their independence. If President Monroe had never enunciated the doctrine which bears his name, the growth of the independent South American republics would have been interfered with by influences foreign to this continent. The future policy of Japan towards Asiatic countries should be similar to that of the United States towards their neighbors on the American continent. A 'Japanese Monroe Doctrine' in Asia will remove the temptation to European encroachment, and Japan will be recognized as the leader of the Asiatic nations and her power will form the shield behind which they can reorganize their national systems."
>
> When I asked the President how far he thought this "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" should extend, he replied that the sphere of the "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" should include the whole continent of Asia—east of Suez Canal as far as west of Kamchatka—except India, Annam, the Philippines, Hongkong and other European and American colonies. At the same time Japan should observe the American policy of the "Open Door and Equal Opportunity" in China.
>
> "If Japan will proclaim such an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine after the Peace of Portsmouth," continued the President, "I will support her with all my power, either during my Presidency or after its expiration." This opinion he expressed as clearly and forcibly as possible.

Following this statement of his conversation with President Roosevelt, Viscount Kaneko then gave an interesting description of the negotiations and intrigue that followed the Russo-Japanese War on the matter of reconstructing the Manchurian railways. According to his statement, E. H. Harriman the well-known American railway builder conceived the idea of rebuilding the South Manchuria Railway which had been ceded to Japan by the Russians and amalgamating that line with the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Trans-Siberian into one gigantic system under a scheme that would have neutralized the Manchurian railways from political control and guaranteed them as strictly commercial enterprises. Harriman departed for Japan with the object of obtaining Japan's consent to the scheme immediately following the signing of the Russo-Japanese peace treaty on August 23, 1905.

According to Viscount Kaneko it was about this time that he was visited by Montgomery Roosevelt, cousin of the President, who allegedly was opposed to the Harriman railway scheme in Manchuria and in this connection strongly advised Viscount Kaneko to maintain control of the South Manchuria Railway as a Japanese Government property and develop it along those lines. Kaneko stated that Montgomery Roosevelt assured him that if Japan would develop the S. M. R. as a Japanese governmental property, he (Montgomery Roosevelt) would obtain for Japan a loan for the purpose in Wall Street, the only condition being that the steel and rolling stock should be purchased in the United States. Kaneko also stated that he was led to believe by Montgomery Roosevelt that the proposal for developing the S. M. R., by means of an American loan, using American materials, had the full support of President Theodore Roosevelt. Continuing the story, Viscount Kaneko stated that when he returned to Japan he was distressed to learn that the Prime Minister, Count Katsura had already made an agreement with E. H. Harriman under which Mr. Harriman had been granted the entire management and repair of the S. M. R. and that Mr. Harriman already had departed for Russia with the object of obtaining Russian consent to a similar project from the standpoint of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Trans-Siberian.

However, as a result of Viscount Kaneko's disclosures of his conversation with Montgomery Roosevelt on the railway question and with President Theodore Roosevelt on the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine matter, the Japanese Government decided to repudiate its agreement with Harriman and proceed with the reconstruction of the S. M. R. as a Japanese Government-controlled enterprise. Harriman was notified to this effect and thus ended the Harriman project for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, which, had it been put into effect might have prevented the rivalries of Japan and Russia and Japan and China in Manchuria which have resulted in the present serious crisis.

One naturally wonders why Viscount Kaneko kept this important information secret for more

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The Monroe Doctrine as Expounded by Charles E. Hughes

The Secretary of State of the United States, Charles E. Hughes, in an address delivered before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, Minn., August 30, 1923, restated the genesis and scope of the Monroe Doctrine as it stands to-day. The Secretary's main points were:

The people of the United States had watched with deep sympathy the long struggle of our Southern neighbors for independence. The Republic of Colombia was recognized in 1822, the Government of Buenos Aires and the States of Mexico and Chile, early in 1823. Deeply interested as we were in the development of republican institutions, the United States did not hesitate because of the political form of government and was the first to recognize the independent Empire of Brazil in May, 1824, and this was followed by the recognition of the Federation of Central American States in August of that year.

The Holy Alliance formed by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia had sought to enforce the divine right of kings against the progress of liberal principles. Joined by France, they undertook "to put an end to the system of representative government" and after Ferdinand VII had been restored to Spain, the overthrowing of the new governments erected out of the old colonies of Spain in the Americas was proposed. In August, 1823, George Canning, British Foreign Secretary, wrote Richard Rush, American Minister in London, suggesting a joint declaration, in substance, that the recovery of the colonies by Spain was hopeless; that neither Great Britain nor the United States was aiming at the possession of any portion of these colonies; and that they could not see with indifference any portion of them transferred to any other power. Correspondence followed between President Monroe and Jefferson and Madison, whose advice he sought. It was after mature deliberation by the President and his Cabinet, which contained not only John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, but John C. Calhoun and William Wirt, that the American position was formulated in President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823.

The Russian Emperor had issued a ukase in 1821 prohibiting citizens of other nations from navigating and fishing within 100 Italian miles of the northwest coast of North America from Bering Straits to the fifty-first parallel of north latitude. Protests had followed. In July 1823, Secretary Adams informed the Russian Minister that the United States "should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." It was in connection with this pretension of Russia that President Monroe, declared in his message:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The other paragraph of President Monroe's message concerned our neighbors to the south, as follows:

"In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are involved or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more intimately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America.

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Properly understood, it is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American States under any guise and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power.

The Monroe Dectrine is not a legislative pronouncement; it has been approved by action of Congress, but it does not rest upon any Congressional sanction. It has had the implied indorsement of the treaty-making power in the reservations to the two Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907, but it is not defined by treaty and does not draw its force from any international agreement. It is not like a constitutional provision deriving its authority from the fact that it is a part of the organic law transcending and limiting executive and legislative power. It is not a part of international law, maintained by the consent of the civilized powers and alterable only at their will. It is a policy declared by the Executive of the United States and repeated in one form or another by Presidents and Secretaries of State in the conduct of our foreign relations. Its significance lies in the fact that in its essentials, as set forth by President Monroe and as forcibly and repeatedly, asserted by our responsible statesmen, it has been for 100 years, and continues to be, an integral part of our national thought and purpose, expressing a profound conviction which even the upheaval caused by the Great War, and our participation in that struggle upon European soil, has not uprooted or fundamentally changed.

The Monroe Doctrine is not a policy of aggression; it is a policy of self-defense. It was asserted at a time when the danger of foreign aggression in this hemisphere was very real, when the new American States had not yet established a firm basis of independent national life, and we were menaced by threats of old world powers directed against republican institutions. It still remains an assertion of the principle of national sceurity.

As the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine is distinctively the policy of the United States, the Government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation and application. This Government has not been disposed to enter into engagements which would have the effect of submitting to any other power or to any concert of powers the determination either of the occasions upon which the principles of the Monroe Doctrine shall be invoked or of the measures that shall be taken in giving it effect. As President Wilson observed: "The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility."

The policy of the Monroe Doctrine does not infringe upon the independence and sovereighty of other American States. Misconception upon this point is the only disturbing influence in our relations with Latin American States. The declaration of our purpose to oppose what is inimical to our safety does not imply an attempt to establish a protectorate any more than a similar assertion by any one of the great southern republics of opposition to conduct on the part of any of the others endangering its security would aim at the establishment of a protectorate.

We utterly disclaim as unwarranted the observations which occasionally have been made implying a claim on our part to superintend the affairs of our sister republics, to assert an overlordship, to consider the spread of our authority beyond our own domain as the aim of our policy and to make our power the test of right in this hemisphere.

Such assertions do not express our national purpose; they belie our sincere friendship; they are false to the fundamental principles of our institutions and of our foreign policy which has sought to reflect with rare exceptions, the ideals of liberty; they menace us by stimulating a distrust which has no real foundation. They find no sanction whatever in the Monroe Doctrine. There is room in this hemisphere, without danger of collision, for the complete recognition of that doctrine and the independent sovereignty of the Latin-American republics.

We have grown rich and powerful, but we have not outgrown the necessity, in justice to ourselves and without injustice to others, of safeguarding our future peace and security.

So far as the region of the Caribbean Sea is concerned it may be said that if we had no Monroe Doctrine we should have to create one. The United States has rights and obligations which that doctrine does not define. And in the unsettled condition of certain countries in the region of the Caribbean it has been necessary to assert these rights and obligations as well as the limited principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

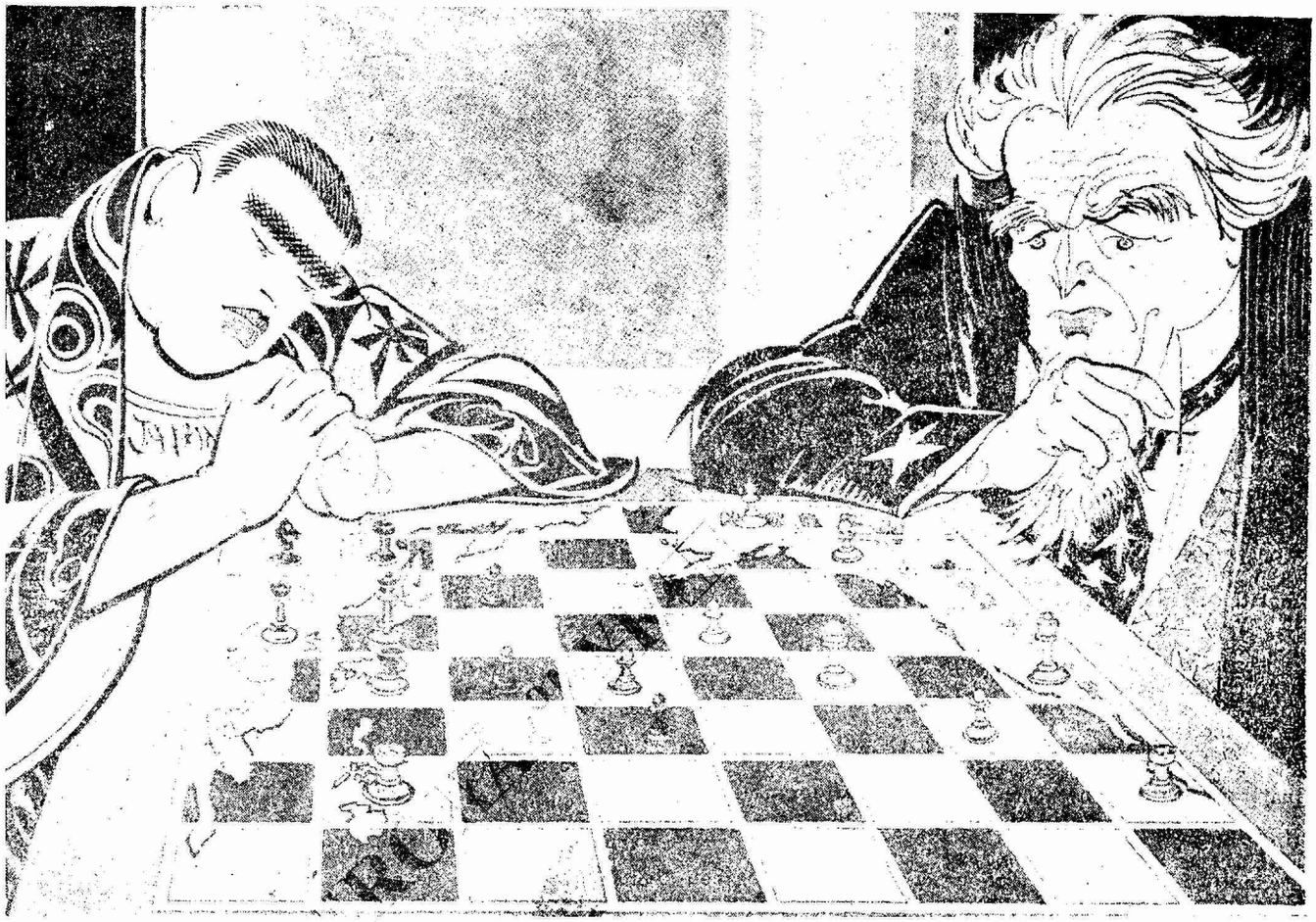
The disturbed conditions and revolutionary tendencies in one of the Central American republics have given great solicitude to the Government of the United States, and its efforts have been directed to the promotion of tranquillity and stability. This is in the interest of the maintenance of the unimpaired integrity and sovereignty of these republics.

than a quarter of a century. He explained the mystery to the following effect,

> Now I want to ask you, Mr. President, if on my return to Tokyo I may report your advice to the Emperor and his Ministers, and let our Government prepare and establish our Asiatic policy in accordance to your view, because your advice is of great importance to Japan."
>
> The President answered: "I have no objection to your reporting to the Emperor and his Ministers confidentially, but I ask you not to make my view public while I am President, because I will announce it myself to the world at some suitable opportunity, after my term of office has expired. When I decide to make it public. I will send a cable authorizing you to do the same. So we can simultaneously publish it, you in Japan and I in America."
>
> Thereupon I said: 'Today, if your view is made public, the world and especially the people of America will be taken by surprise. But in future, should you decide, I will proclaim your magnanimous view on the Japanese Asiatic policy, and will explain to the Japanese and endeavor to have it realized in my power." On my return home, when I had an audience, I reported to the Emperor, who commanded me to present a written report.
>
> When President Roosevelt completed his term, he went to shoot big game in Central Africa. Then he re-entered American politics in the movement to form the Progressive Party. The six years between his retirement and the World War were full of striking events in which Colonel Roosevelt played a part, and Japan's relations with her neighboring countries in Asia were relatively unimportant. No occasion arose to prompt the publication of the opinion which President Roosevelt had uttered in our talk at Sagamore Hill. And now when Japan's policy in Manchuria is much criticized by foreign Powers, it is a matter of the greatest regret to me and to Japan that he died unexpectedly without having uttered in public speech his views on a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" in Asia. This opinion, held by one of the greatest statesmen of our time, would have been of high importance, had he lived to announce it himself at the present moment, when Manchuria is once more a burning international question. As his old friend and lifelong admirer, I can not withhold his far-reaching view, and now give it to the world, as my sincere tribute to the memory of the world-renowned American statesman and a great benefactor to Japan in her struggle against Russia for national existence.

While some have expressed considerable skepticism of the accuracy of Viscount Kaneko's statement regarding the late President Roosevelt's views on an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine for Japan, we are rather inclined to accept his statement despite the fact that twenty-seven years have elapsed since the conversation took place. Viscount Kaneko is now 80-years of age.

But in accepting Viscount Kaneko's statement about Roosevelt's advice to Japan on the matter of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, we are not likewise inclined to accept his explanation of Roosevelt's failure to make the announcement public. President Roosevelt's failure to follow up his suggestion with a public announcement seems quite logical to us in the light of succeeding events. First, it must be remembered, this



This cartoon, which is reproduced from *Philippine Education*, well known magazine published by American interests at Manila, carried the title, "Will Uncle Sam Now Withdraw His Rook from the Philippines," the cartoon being based on a chess game. The figure representing Uncle Sam is shown giving serious (and worried) consideration to the matter of withdrawing his "counter" from the Philippine Islands. The cartoon was accompanied by an editorial entitled, "The Game of the Pacific," which supported President Hoover's doctrine that the "first necessity of the American Government is the maintenance of a navy so efficient and strong that in conjunction with our army, no enemy may invade our country." The editorial after reviewing Japan's recent military activities also gave strong support to the Hoover-Stimson Doctrine of non-aggression in the Pacific and non-recognition of territorial gains made by force.

conversation took place in 1905 at the time of the Russo-Japanese peace negotiations and preceding Japan's adventure in respect to Korea. When Japan declared war on Russian in 1904 the Emperor of Japan declared that "the integrity of Korea is a matter of gravest concern to the Japanese Empire....the separate existence of Korea is essential to the safety of our realm." Thirteen days later, on February 23, 1904, Japan signed a protocol with the Emperor of Korea wherein Japan definitely guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Korean Empire..

But three months after the signing of the Russo-Japanese Treaty, on November 17, 1905, and also after Viscount Kaneko's conversation with President Roosevelt, the Japanese Government compelled the Korean Emperor to accept a convention which contained the following provision, "The Government of Japan....will hereafter have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Korea." Events were moving rapidly for in 1906 Marquis Ito was made Japanese Resident-General of Korea and in 1907 Japan prevented the representative of Korea from being given a hearing at the Hague Convention. Immediately following that success, the Korean Emperor was compelled to agree to another convenvention which gave Japan exclusive rights to "reform" the Korean administration and Korea was prevented from discharging or employing any officials, Korean or foreign, without the consent of the Japanese Resident-General, and in future was compelled to employ Japanese exclusively.

However, in order to remove foreign suspicion of Japan's intentions in Korea, Prince Ito in 1908 declared that "it was no part of Japan's purpose to annex Korea." But in spite of this public declaration, Prince Ito declared the following year (1909) that Korea must be "amalgamated" with Japan. The next year, 1910, came the final act in the tragedy of the Hermit Kingdom, when the bewildered Emperor was compelled to sign the following treaty,

> Article 1—His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.
>
> Article 2—His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article, and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

On August 29, 1910 Japan formally declared Korea annexed to the dominions of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and Japan immediately declared that Korea's customs duties would remain in effect for a period of ten years, but one year later Japan adopted for herself a revised tariff on highly protective lines. The closing of the Korean "open door" to world commerce followed as a matter of course, hence Korea passed off the world map as a state and since has been amalgamated into the tight little Japanese Empire.

Although the United States made no official protest regarding Japan's annexation of Korea and as a matter of fact still (theoretically) has a treaty with Korea which guarantees the open door and the territorial integrity of the Korean Empire, it must have been Japan's action in violating her sacred pledge and annexing Korea that caused President Roosevelt to remain silent about his conversation with Viscount Kaneko on the

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The Diplomatic Reception Seems Quite Unanimous

—Darling in the New York "Herald Tribune."

subject of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. Assuming that Viscount Kaneko is telling the truth regarding his conversation with the late President Roosevelt, it seems logical to believe that Roosevelt must have realized that the Japanese had little or no real understanding of the meaning of the American Monroe Doctrine and that Japan was merely using the words, "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine" as a cloak for annexation. This undoubtedly was the reason why Roosevelt dropped the idea and did not follow up his alleged conversation with Viscount Kaneko with a public declaration.

As a fitting conclusion to this phase of the discussion, we are publishing on another page of this issue of *The Review* an explanation of the American Monroe Doctrine which was made by former Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, in an address before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, Minnesota on August 30, 1923. A perusal of Secretary Hughes' declaration which restated the genesis and scope of the Monroe Doctrine as understood by the people of the United States, shows quite clearly that the Japanese, or at least the military rulers of that country have little or no conception of the real meaning of the doctrine, but are merely using it as a cloak for the annexation of territory and the expansion of their Imperial Empire. This point was further emphasized in one of Secretary of State Stimson's recent declaration when he stated that Japan had

violated the trust which had been placed in her at the Washington Conference when the United States agreed not to fortify certain naval bases in the western Pacific. It was on the distinct understanding that Japan would observe the territorial integrity of China as guaranteed in the Nine-Power Treaty, that the United States agreed not to fortify Guam or the Aleutian Islands or to continue the strengthening of Corrigedor at the entrance to Manila Bay.

So much for Japan's claim to leadership in the Far East!

Manchukuo Customs Barrier Proves Great Burden on Trade---B.A.T. Badly Hit

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the formal recognition of Manchukuo by the Japanese, the Manchukuo authorities decided to enforce the imposition of a customs tariff on exports and imports to and from China as from September 25. The decision was based on the proposition that Manchukuo would hereafter consider China as a "foreign country" in matters of trade and navigation. The temporary customs office in Dairen has been given the name of the Manchukuo Dairen Customs House. The former staff of the Dairen Chinese Maritime Customs is being allowed the use of a part of the Dairen Customs House for the time being for the purpose of winding up their affairs, but they have been requested "to complete their business as soon as possible." When this situation arose Mr. Porter, the British Customs Assistant in Dairen, telegraphed to Sir Frederick Maze, Inspector General of Cutoms, as follows:—"Have received formal letter from Fukumoto stating that he has been officially confirmed as Commissioner of Customs, Dairen, and that my connection with Dairen Customs has ceased; he orders me to hand over all keys, archives, etc." Sir Frederick thereupon sent the following reply: —"You are not subject to orders from non-Customs authorities: do nothing therefor." In the meantime, it is understood, the Japanese-controlled Manchukuo authorities are assuming charge of all new Customs matters at Dairen, where the duties are collected on all goods going inland.

The Japanese point of view on the Dairen Customs issue was made plain by a spokesman of the Foreign Office in Tokyo September 19, who stated that Japan's recognition of Manchukuo presupposes abrogation of the Sino-Japanese Customs Agreement of 1907, although Manchukuo has voluntarily agreed to continue to remit to Nanking sufficient revenue to cover Manchuria's share of the Boxer indemnity. The spokesman intimated that Japan would shortly approach China with a view to obtaining formal recognition of the abrogation of the agreement.

A special telegram from London to the *North China Daily News* September 20 stated that growing restiveness was felt there over the question of Manchukuo, as a consequence of Japan's hint that the Open Door in Manchuria may be conditional upon recognition of the new state. Hitherto Great Britain had been content to await consideration of the Report of the League of Nations Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton, at the coming session at Geneva, but there now appeared to be a tendency to view delay in tackling the problem as being of doubtful value. Unofficially it was learnt that Great Britain may be inclined to grant recognition if the new Manchurian government shows stability.

The future customs policy of Manchukuo was outlined by Yui Shao-wu, acting Commissioner of Customs at Harbin, September 17. The new Manchukuo customs tariff will go into effect September 25. All merchandise to and from China is dutiable under existing tariff conditions. Tonnage receipts issued by China will not be recognized by Manchukuo, and in the future all steamers will pay tonnage dues levied by Manchukuo on the same basis as heretofore. Certificates issued by China for navigation in home waters and in ports between China and Manchukuo, will not be recognized, and in future certificates permitting navigation in Manchukuo home waters will be issuable only by Manchukuo, on the procedure and basis as heretofore. This means that manufacturing establishments in China when making shipments to Manchuria in future, will have to pay an export duty in China and an import duty in Manchukuo, thus placing a heavy handicap on all industrial enterprises here which have Manchurian connections.

A somewhat humorous aspect of the new customs situation in Manchuria is that the large Japanese cotton mill industry established in Shanghai many years ago will be hard hit by this new system, and already there is talk of one or more of the Japanese mills here transferring their plants to Manchuria so as to avoid the duties. However, the outstanding business that will be hurt by the new customs policy of the Manchukuo government will be the British-American Tobacco Company, whose plants here in Shanghai, previous to the Japanese descent upon Manchuria a year ago, furnished large quantities of cigarettes for the Manchurian market. The British-American Tobacco Company's business was naturally affected immediately that the Japanese invasion occurred, as the B. A. T., which maintains large factories at Mukden and Harbin, is discriminated against in every way possible by the Japanese authorities, who do everything they can to smooth the path of the competing Japanese Toa Tobacco Company, which is popularly supposed to be a subsidiary of the Japanese Tobacco Monopoly. In future, for all cigarettes manufactured in Shanghai or other China points, the British American Tobacco Company will not only have to pay a heavy export duty to China but also a heavy import duty into Manchuria, making it exceedingly difficult, if not eventually impossible, for it to carry on business in Manchuria against the competition of the Japanese company, which enjoys special freight and taxation privileges in that territory.

Protocol According Recognition to Manchukuo Formally Signed at Mukden

THE Protocol according formal recognition to Manchukuo by Japan was signed at Changchun (renamed "Hsinking," the "new capital" by the Japanese, but nicknamed "Sinking" by the foreign residents) on the morning of September 15. General Muto signed on behalf of Japan and Cheng Hsiao-hsu, Prime Minister of Manchukuo on behalf of the "new State." The ceremony, which took place in an upstairs drawing-room of the Palace of the Chief Executive, Henry Pu Yi, as the ex-Emperor of China is now called. Pu Yi was present at the signing which was done with a Chinese writing brush. The brush was later presented to the ex-Emperor of China as a souvenir of the occasion. The spectators included Members of the Manchukuo Cabinet, their Japanese advisers and Japanese military and civil dignitaries, also several representatives of the South Manchuria Railway. The following is a translation of the text of the protocol:

Whereas Japan has recognized the fact that Manchukuo in accordance with the free will of its inhabitants, has organized and established itself as an independent state; and

Whereas Manchukuo has declared its intention of abiding by all international engagements entered into by China in so far as they are applicable to Manchukuo;

Now the Governments of Japan and Manchukuo have, for the purpose of establishing a perpetual relation of good neighborhood between Japan and Manchukuo, each respecting the territorial rights of the other, and also in order to secure the peace of the Far East, agreed as follows:

1—Manchukuo shall confirm and respect, in so far as no agreement to the contrary shall be made between Japan and Manchukuo in the future, all rights and interests possessed by Japan or her subjects within the territory of Manchukuo by virtue of Sino-Japanese Treaties Agreements or other arrangements of Sino-Japanese contracts, private or public:

2—Japan and Manchukuo, recognizing that any threat to the territory or to the peace and order of either of the High Contracting Parties constitutes, at the same time a threat to the safety and existence of the other, agree to cooperate in the maintenance of their national security; it being understood that such Japanese forces as may be necessary for this purpose shall be stationed in Manchukuo.

The present protocol has been drawn up in Japanese and Chinese, two identical copies being made in each language. Should any difference arise in regard to interpretation between the Japanese and Chinese texts, the Japanese text shall prevail.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present protocol and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Hsin Ching, this 15th day of the Ninth month of the seventh year of Showa, corresponding to the 15th day of the Ninth month of the First year of Tatung.

NOBUYOSHI MUTO, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

HSIAO-HSU CHENG, Prime Minister of Manchukuo.

Simultaneously with the publication of the text of the protocol the Japanese Government issued a statement alleging that China's anti-foreign revolutionary diplomacy had begun steadily to encroach on Japan's all-important rights and interests. The official statement reviewed the emergence of Manchukuo and recalled the main features of the declaration of independence issued by the new State, including its intention to abolish political corruption and to carry out its policy in "a kingly way," at the same time promising to observe its existing obligations and to respect the principle of the "Open Door" and equal opportunity. "Having closely followed the developments of the past year," the statement continued, "the Japanese Government has come to recognize Manchukuo's sincerity and determination to carry out its declared policies, giving as specific instances the preparations which the Manchukuo authorities are making for the abolition of extraterritoriality and the opening up of the interor of the country to all foreigners, in addition to other revisions of treaties 'through agreement with the Powers concerned and without resorting to any unilateral measures of termination." The official statement also expressed confidence that all pending disputes concerning rights and interests will be, by that means, permanently removed while the co-operation for the maintenance of national security will be mutually beneficial and help to secure the peace of the Far East—and much more in the same hypocritical vein.

Telegrams from Tokyo stated that the recognition of Manchukuo was celebrated there by 30,000 representatives of various civic bodies, who assembled at the Yasukuni Shrine, where the spirits of those killed in battle are enshrined. From the Shrine, headed by a military band, the crowds marched in procession to the Imperial Palace. Halting and shouting "Banzai" en route before the Navy Office, the War Office and the Foreign Office, as well as before the Premier's official residence, the procession finally lined up before the picturesque Nijubashi entrance to the Palace and amidst thunderous Banzais they bowed solemnly in obeisance. The War Minister, and the Presidents of the Seiyukai, Minseito and Kokumindomei parties have made congratulatory statements to the press, welcoming the signing of the Protocol and expressing a conviction that this act will serve to promote peace in the Far East.

According to a Japanese press message from Changchun, the Soviets are expected to extend recognition to Manchukuo on December 7, the anniversary of the Soviet revolution.

The diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* states that there is a possibility of the Manchukuo Government closing shortly the territory of the new state to the citizens of all those countries which have not recognised the new Manchukuo Government. The correspondent adds that such an action might lead to a very grave international crisis.

The *Manchester Guardian* ironically comments on the "Open Door with the new disconcerting grille," namely the proviso that the door is only open to these who recognize the independence of the Government of Changchun. It adds that even the Tokyo Foreign Office cannot take its chances on this question seriously.

The recognition of Manchukuo by Japan was widely commented upon throughout the world. A resume of the more important comments follows:

BRITISH PRESS COMMENT

The *Manchester Guardian* says that subterfuges apart, Japan has torn a piece from the living body of China and she has done this by violence which she refused to call war, although it was war. Thus she broke the treaties that both she and China signed. The paper adds that her action is a blow at the whole international order which ever since the War "we have been seeking to build up in the west and in the east."

The *London Times* stated that it is unlikely that Japan's example would be followed for the present by any other government. It points out that all the advantages for which Japanese enterprise won the sanction of Manchuria by treaty, but which were habitually contested and whittled down by Chinese official chicanery, have been made secure by the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol. Japan brought about this result by statesmanship of a pre-war order and it is idle to conceal the challenge involved to the principles of the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact and other treaties to which she is a signatory, says the *Times* article. Commenting on the Japanese explanatory statement that Manchukuo is opening the interior to all foreigners, the *Times* further observed that British opinion is more impressed by the fact that British subjects not desiring to visit the interior, are being carried there by bandits and that the outrages committed upon travellers on the railways are so flagrant and frequent that journeys might well have been prohibited.

The whole Japanese policy of 'Manchukuo,' this London journal continued, has unquestionably been pursued without too nice a regard for obligations, and has already been condemned by Colonel Stimson and by resolution of the League. It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to hold Japan up to opprobrium before all the facts are revealed by the Lytton Report. What Japan did in Shanghai found little support in Great Britain but her position in Manchuria is very different, continued the *Times*. Japanese economic interests there are vital to the prosperity of the nation. She saved Manchuria from Russia and protected it from the chaos and anarchy besetting other parts of China. She legitimately acquired economic rights which were illegitimately obstructed by the Chinese and she had failed through long, patient years to obtain redress.

Rothermore Favors Japan

Japan's action in Manchukuo finds approval in the eyes of the *London Evening News*, a popular evening paper controlled by the press magnate, Lord Rothermere. The paper says that the plain truth about Manchuria is that unless they find their commercial interests in Manchuria too crudely menaced, the other nations concerned are not prepared to quarrel openly with Japan about what has been done, however much they may dislike the doing of it, or whatever apprehensions they may entertain for the future. It is unbelievable that the average Manchu is suffering patriotic pangs over the loss of his Chinese citizenship, in view of his past experiences, declared the *Evening News*. "Clearly Manchukuo is going to be a fit place to live in just so long as Japanese administrators and troops make it so. If they do make it so, if this large segment of Asia is reduced by their efforts to a reasonable state of productive tranquility, the world generally, no matter what its apprehensive diplomats and its professional internationalists may think, will say "let them get on with it'," concluded the *Evening News*.

The London *News Chronicle* said that the position from the viewpoint of morality could not be worse. It refers to the "deplorable rake's progress" of the British policy which afforded "encouragement to Japanese militarism to go from strength to strength until now the Japanese proclaim defiantly that so far as they are concerned the League of Nations, American and the Lytton report can all go to a hotter place than Jericho." The paper predicts gloomy prospects for the world "so long as Japanese imperialism remains undefeated" and says that as a settlement cannot be accomplished by mediation and conciliation, the task now is to help Chinese nationalism to defeat Japanese imperialism.

Japan's request that the League of Nations delay discussion of the report of the Lytton Commission on Manchuria was strongly condemned in an editorial published by the *London Economist*. September 16. "These manœuvers need no comment," the journal says, "except to say that they ought not to be permitted to achieve their manifestly illegitimate purpose." The editorial also draws a contrast between present conditions in Manchuria and those so strongly criticized by the Japanese during the displaced Chinese regime. "It seems at the moment that the one place where Japan is not having her way over Manchuria is Manchuria herself," the journal says. "The anarchy into which the Chinese provinces have fallen since the Japanese army overthrew the Chinese administration 10 months ago is growing steadily worse and worse."

Germany's Political Interests Not at Stake

A telegram from Berlin stated that the official Japanese recognition of Manchukuo did not evoke much surprise in Germany as this development was expected. Official German circles declared that German political interests in the Far East are not in any wise at stake. As far as trade relations are concerned it is pointed out that Japan has always favored the Open Door and no intimations had been received from the German Government's representatives in the Far East that she had changed her views. The Monarchist organ, the *Kreuz Zeitung*, expressed fears that there will be an intensification of Sino-Japanese tension which might lead to war without a declaration of it. It also says that it expects that Russia and the United States will seize this opportunity of abandoning their disinterestedness. Under the headline "Manchuria Japan's Dependency," the *Vossische Zeitung* emphasized that Manchuria's independence practically existed from the day the new government was constituted with the help of Japanese bayonets. The revolting Chinese provinces are now, from the international standpoint, a unit which can claim all the rights of a civilized state. With Manchuria as a dependency Japan can build up a favorable basis of operations for the inevitable liquidation of Sino-Japanese differences and Japan can now play her game without compromising herself—for the future war will be labelled the Sino-Manchurian war. Geneva and Washington, adds the paper, will, one day when Japanese soldiers invade Central China, find with regret that treaties which were meant to outlaw war have one fatal gap, namely that Manchukuo has ratified none of them.

"The League of Nations as usual will say 'Yes' and 'No' and history once again will prove stronger than the will of mankind and then treaties." This is the comment of the Catholic newspaper *Germania* on events in the Far East. It goes on to say that from the international point of view the source of world-wide complications is not the German but the Manchurian problem. America, it declares, is Japan's most important opponent in the Pacific and Russia in Asia, so it is not improbable that both of them, at least temporarily, will co-operate in some practical manner. *Germania* also expresses the opinion that the Manchurian problem has cooled down relations between the United States and Great Britain and that the attitude of the European Powers towards the Manchurian problem may dictate Washington's attitude towards the debt problem.

A rally to the Japanese standpoint is indicated in the comment of the Berlin Democratic paper, *Borsen Courier*, which declares that the "secret success of Japan's policy of conquest is that Japan is more able to guarantee a more peaceful and more progressive development in Manchuria than could be guaranteed in the rest of China, where other imperialistic powers are exercising the predominating influences." In summing up events the paper comes to the conclusion that "nothing but brutal and superior force can shake the Japanese standpoint that the world must accept as an accomplished fact the establishment of Manchukuo."

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French Press Comment is Cautious

The French press was somewhat reserved and cautious in commenting on the Japanese action in recognizing Manchukuo. The prevailing feeling is that the action is unjustified. *Le Journal* declared that the undoubted interest which Japan has in Manchuria do not justify a gesture which in no way improves the situation in the Far East. *L'Oeuvre* expressed the opinion that the recognition of Manchukuo constitutes a direct menace to America and to the Soviet, and is also a violation of the Nine-Power Treaty. The paper believes that it may lead to serious consequences. *Populaire* holds that the terms of the Protocol only thinly veil an act of military annexation.

Le Temps expressed the view that "disagreeable surprises in the Far East" are in store and went on to remark that elementary politeness should have prompted the parties concerned to await the Lytton Report and the conclusions of the League upon that Report before taking a step which will so profoundly modify the problem of relations between China and Japan. *Le Temps* hopes that Japan will in no case withdraw from the League, since such a step would only transfer the problem from the League to the Nine Power signatories "which"- it says, "it is to everybody's interest to avoid." The news,

paper urges Tokyo to reflect on what is authorized by a defense of legitimate interests and what is forbidden by respect of rights within the bounds of international co-operation and undertakings signed in good faith."

The *Journal des Debats* pointed out that although the hand of Japan is evident in the movement leading up to the constitution of the new state nevertheless there exists Manchu sentiment which sees in the restoration of an independent state a recognition of Manchu nationalism which, though dormant, has not been extinguished. It would, moreover, it continues, be unjust not to discriminate between East and West. "China is not a state in the sense which we use the word and it is to be hoped that the statesmen considering the question will take into account the de facto conditions and diplomatic usages of the Far East."

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United States Awaits Publication of Lytton Report

Japan's recognition of Manchukuo will not precipitate a new move until the Lytton report has been considered. This is the opinion gathered from the State Department by a *New York Times* correspondent. The correspondent adds that any representations by the United States Consul in Harbin for increased protection against brigandage would not constitute recognition of the new State of Manchukuo even by implication. If China seeks to invoke the Nine Power Pact, the State Department will not act until the Lytton report is published, and perhaps not even until the League of Nations has acted upon it.

Colonel Stimson and the State Department remained silent but expectant spectators of the Japanese recognition of Manchukuo, according to a telegram from Washington. The *Herald Tribune* asserted that the prevailing view in official quarters is that the Nine-Power Pact has been clearly violated but until the League of Nations has acted, it is intimated that Washington will be content to maintain a diplomatic ostracism concerning Manchukuo and will co-operate with Geneva. It is believed that the State Department sympathises with the Chinese contention that the Manchukuo case is covered by the so-called Hoover doctrine, but it is hoped that the Lytton Report will be the basis for negotiations with Japan with a view to straightening out the situation.

Despite Japan's "open door" gestures with regard to Manchuria and Manchukuo, State Department officials in Washington stated that there was no relaxation of American opposition to Japan's position. The State Department, it was said, has no thought of accepting any invitation to recognize the so-called Manchukuo Government of Henry Pu Yi. All indications pointed toward continued American cooperation with the League of Nations, and opposition to the position thus far held by Japan. Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania arrived in Paris September 16 to enter into conferences with Foreign Minister Edouard Herriot relative to the Sino-Japanese situation. It will be recalled that Senator Reed represented the United States during a major share of the negotiations with Japan at the London Naval Conference.

The *Washington Star* expressed the opinion that Washington will await developments without attempting to force them, as the United States position is clear. The *Washington Post* declared that the installation of a puppet government becomes "a mockery beyond the borders of Japan." The New York *Evening Post* commented in sarcastic vein. Japan has virtually destroyed the Nine Power Treaty, in the opinion of the New York *World-Telegram*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, which thinks that the European Powers supported or at least tacitly approved of Tokyo's course.

The newspaper chain of William R. Hearst generally supports the Japanese position and strongly condemns President Hoover and Secretary Stimson for "irritating" Japan with the recent declaration pertaining to non-recognition of territory taken by force.

New Quarters for Japanese Troops to Be Built in Hongkew District

According to the *Mainichi*, Japanese daily newspaper in Shanghai, the Japanese Authorities are making plans for extensive improvements on their property on Kiangwan Road, opposite the Public School for Boys. It is understood, states the journal, that the additional barracks and a hospital will be constructed near the main entrance to Hongkew Park and that the present barracks will be reconstructed. The report adds that six architects from Sasebo have been delegated to supervise the drawing up of plans. The total cost is estimated at 1,500,000 yen and only Japanese contractors will be permitted to submit tenders.

Government Forces Defeat "Reds" in Hupeh Lake Region

Recent dispatches from Hankow state that the Government forces have now occupied all strategic centers formerly held in Hupeh by the Reds, against whom a bitter campaign, directed by General Chiang Kai-shek has been waged for several months. The main body of the Communist forces is reported to have been surrounded in the Hupeh lake region.

The Left Wing Bandit-suppression forces under Generals Ho Cheng-chun, and Hsu Yuan-chuan captured 1,000 "Reds" at Lokou, southern Hupeh, September 15. Advancing further to the interior, they rescued 3,000 men and women in the Hung Hu (like) region who had been held for ranson by the bandits. According to a report from General Chang Chen-hai, Commander of the 41st Division, there are now no traces of the brigands in the vicinity of the Hung Hu (lake).

To facilitate the campaign, General Ho Cheng-chun has left for Yokou, central Hupeh, to personally direct the operations as well as to confer with the local authorities there for the institution of rehabilitation measures. The notorious Ho Lung is leading the remnant units of the 8th and 9th bandit divisions along Kingmen and the northern bank of the Han River in an attempt to cross the river to Huayung city on the Hunan-Hupeh border. But it is anticipated that the move will be frustrated due to the closs watch maintained by Government gunboats.

Regarding the operations along the Hupeh-Honan border, a telegram from General Tang En-po, Commander of the 89th Division, reports that the scattered outlaws in the vicinity of Hsinchi, a bandit rendevous in southern Honan, have been wiped out. Traffic between Huangpai and Huangan, in eastern Hupeh, has been resumed.

The 75th Division under General Sung Tieh-tsai attached to the 20th Route Army under General Chang Fang entered the city of Shangcheng, south Honan, on the 16th. General Sung's troops are cooperating with the 54th Division under General Tai Min-chuan and the 4th Division under General Hsu Ting-yao in launching a combined attack on the "Reds" at Suhsienshih.

Chinchiachai, the only remaining important bandit lair on the Anhwei-Honan border, is under heavy assault by the Anhwei and Honan forces. This bandit stronghold is expected to fall in the near future. The 2nd Naval Squadron stationed in the upper reaches of the Yangtsze has received a message of commendation from General Chiang. Nine gunboats of the Squadron are patrolling along the River between Ichang and Hankow and their alert vigil has prevented any of the "Red" bandits in the Hung Hu (Lake) region from crossing the River and escaping to Hunan.

General Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War, in a statement issued at Nanking, Sept. 15, said that the main strength of the bandits in the I-huang Lo-an region (central Kiangsi) has already been destroyed, the Government forces having inflicted repeated defeats upon the marauders. The major portion of the bandits under Peng Te-huai, who have been entrenched in such strong bandit lairs as Hsiaotien, Kuangchang, Lokow and Ningtu, has also surrendered to the Government forces. Thus, the bandit force in Kiangsi is crumbling and it remains only for the Government forces to round up and extirpate the remnants still at large. In order to facilitate the early completion of the campaign, General Ho continued, the Government forces have enforced a blockade against the bandits who are thus cut off from all economic assistance as well as communications from without.

Woodhead Goes to Manchukuo

H. G. W. Woodhead, British journalist, who occupies the position of columnist on the *Shanghai Evening Post*, departed last week for Manchuria where he plans to spend considerable time investigating conditions at Dairen, Mukden, Changchun and elsewhere. According to report, Mr. Woodhead will write a series of articles dealing with Japanese administration in Manchuria which later will be published in pamphlet form for world-wide distribution.

Bomb Explodes in Tientsin Court Room

The Tientsin District Court was the scene of a bomb explosion recently. The explosion forced the hearing of cases to suspend as judges, lawyers and spectators stampeded from the room. A 60-year-old man was killed. The bomb, according to an investigation made after the explosion, was in a waste paper basket but no clue as to its origin was discovered.

China's Note to Signatories of Nine Power Treaty

The Chinese Government on September 16 addressed identic Notes to the Governments of the United States of America, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Mexico and Bolivia—parties to the Nine Powers Treaty—requesting them to take effective measures to deal with the serious situation precipitated by Japan's official recognition of the bogus "Manchukuo." The text of the Note to the American Government is as follows:—

Toe Chinese Goveanment has the honor to invite the attenion of the American Government to the serious situation precipitated by Japan's announcement, on September 15, 1932, of her recognition of the so-called Manchuko,—an organisation created, maintained and controlled by Japan in the Three Eastern Provinces of the Chinese Republic—and by the publication of what purports to be a treaty between Japan and her puppet organisation, whereby Japan may station troops in these provinces at her free will and thus attempts to establish a virtual Protectorate over that part of China's territory. This latest act of aggression on the part of Japan adds a most damaging link to the chain of international delinquencies perpetrated by her during the last twelve months, which consist not only in usurpation of China's sovereign rights, but in continuous violation of International Treaties of a most important character, including the Nine Power Treaty concluded at Washington in 1922, to which the United States of America is a signatory party.

It need not be recounted how Japan started her invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931, how she has since extended her military operations over a territoy inhabited by 30,000,000 Chinese citizens, and how she has used sheer force in usurping the administratiye powers of the Chinese Government and establishing a bogus administration in the area she has unlawfully occupied. All such facts are but too well-known to need recapitulation. Suffice it to say that from September 18, 1931, when Japanese troops opened their premeditated attack on Shenyang (Mukden) until the present time, not a day has passed without Japan aggravating her wrong by one act or another. The series of crimes of which Japan is guilty have now culminated in her recognition of the so-called Manchukuo.

Japan has attempted to deceive the world by advancing the ridiculous argument that the so-called Manchukuo was brought into existence by Chinese citizens who desired to secede from the Chinese Republic. Undeniable facts show that the bogus government in Manchuria is a product and a tool of Japanese miltary aggression, pure and simple. A great number of Japanese, who are directly responsible to the Government at Tokyo, are dictating matters to the puppet organization, while the masses in Manchuria are under the constant oppression and intimidation of Japanese militarists. When the Japanese troops are withdrawn from Manchuria, the so-called Manchukuo would vanish completely.

By Article I of the Nine Power Treaty, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree *inter alia* to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. There is not the slightest doubt that Japan's recognition of her own puppet organization and all her previous actions so methodically performed in pursuance of her policy of aggression in Manchuria constitute a direct violation of China's sovereignty as well as her territorial and administrative integrity. It was with a view to preventing such a state of affairs as has now been brought about by Japan that the Powers entered into the engagements above referred to.

Japan is now not only victimizing China but deliberately defies world opinion and sets at naught the solemn obligations she owes to other Powers. It cannot be conceived that Japan's actions should be permitted to go unchallenged and that the Nine Power Treaty should be treated by those Powers which have subscribed to its engagements as a mere scrap of paper. The principle of the sanctity and inviolability of International Treaties is at stake. When about 400,000 square miles of the territory of the Chinese Republic have been seized by Japanese military forces and when Japan has given her official sanction, against the advice and admonition of friendly Powers, to the unlawful organization she has created in that territory, the painful consequences are not confined to China alone but the peace of the world is ominously threatened.

In view of these circumstances, the Chinese Government considers that a grave situation has arisen which involves the application of the stipulations of the Nine Power Treaty and, therefore, in accordance with Article VII thereof, communicates its full and frank views to the Governments of those Powers which are parties to that Treaty, with the request that such measures be taken as will properly and effectually deal with the state of affairs brought about by Japan's acts of aggression in China, beginning with the attack on Shenyang (Mukden) on September 18, 1931, and culminating in the recognition of her puppet organization on September 15, 1932.

China's Protest to Japan on Recognition of "Manchukuo"

The National Government on September 16 lodged a Note of vigorous protest with the Japanese Government through Chiang Tso-pin, Chinese Minister at Tokyo, concerning Japan's official recognition of the bogus Manchukuo. The text of the Note is as follows:—

Since the night of September 18, 1931, when Japanese troops opened their premeditated attack on Shenyang (Mukden), the Japanese Government has by one act or another so aggravated the situation in the Three Eastern Provinces that, not only have China's sovereign rights been violated to an inestimable degree, but the principle of the sanctity of International Treaties is shaken to its very foundation and the peace of the world is lamentably broken.

By the Resolution of September 30, 1931, of the Council of the League of Nations the Japanese Government was called upon—and itself undertook—to refrain from any further aggravation of the situation and to withdraw its troops, then occupying certain regions in the provinces of Liaoning and Kirin, into the Railway zone. No sooner was this Resolution adopted than Japanese further extended their operations by invading and occupying more territory in the North-Eastern Provinces, including Tsitsihar and other important cities in Heilungkiang. In November serious riots were caused to take place in Tientsin by persons connected with the Japanese Concession in that city.

On December 10, 1931, with Japan's own concurrence, the Council of the League of Nations repeated its injunction against aggravation of the situation and resolved that withdrawal of the Japanese troops to within the Railway zone should be effected as speedily as possible. This Resolution received a response from the Japanese Government in the form of engaging in more aggressive activities not only in the Three Eastern Provinces but in regions far away from the scene of initial invasion. Japanese troops air-raided, attacked and finally seized Chinchow, Harbin and other strategic places in Manchuria. Towards the end of January, 1932, severe hostilities were opened in Shanghai by Japanese marines, reinforced later by several divisions of the Japanese army, resulting in considerable loss of life and property.

Having forcibly seized the whole of Manchuria, Japan contrived to establish therein a puppet organization entitled Manchukuo with Pu Yi, posing as its head, but with every vestige of power resting in the hands of Japanese who are responsible to the Government at Tokyo. Then the seizure of Chinese Railways and Chinese Revenue from the Maritime Customs, Salt Gabelle and other sources, the interference with the Chinese Postal Administration, the slaughter and oppression of Chinese citizens, the wanton destruction of property and other innumerable unlawful acts were systematically performed in the name of the so-called Manchukuo but in reality by persons owing allegiance to or in control of the Japanese Government.

At every stage of Japan's military aggression in China, the Chinese Government did not fail to lodge a strong protest with the Japanese Government, calling its attention to the serious responsibility it took upon itself. But such protests were not only unheeded but were invariably answered by more daring and aggressive actions.

Time and again the other nations of the world warned Japan against her policy of territorial aggrandisement by violence. Early in January, 1932, the American Government formally announced that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto*. . . . . and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contary to the convenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928. On

February 16, twelve members of the Council of the League of Nations declared "that no infringement of the territorial integrity and no change in the political independence of any member of the League, brought about in disregard of Article X of the Covenant ought to be recognized as valid and *de facto* by members of the League of Nations." On March 11, the Assembly of the League unanimously resolved "that it is incumbent upon members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or to the Pact of Paris," and that "it is contrary to the spirit of the Covenant that the Settlement of the Sino-Japanese dispute should be solved under stress of military pressure on the part of either party."

Deliberately ignoring the repeated advice and admonitions of the friendly Powers, the decisions and injunctions of the League of Nations and the public opinion of mankind, the Japanese Government has now taken the headlong step of according official recognition to the puppet organization born of its own militarism, and concluding with that organization what purports to be an agreement whereby Japan contemplates stationing of troops in the Three Eastern Provinces at her free will and thus attempts to establish a virtual Protectorate over the territory in these provinces.

Japan's recognition of her puppet organization came at a time when the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the League of Nations in pursuance of the Council's Resolution of December 10, 1931, which was accepted by Japan herself, had just completed its labors of investigation with the assistance of a representative of the Japanese Government and when the League is about to make its recommendations, based upon the results of the Commission's work. Such an act on the part of Japan, which makes her guilt increase in gravity, amounts to an insulting challenge to the authority of the League of Nations whose judgment will necessarily be based on truth and justice.

The responsibility of Japan involved in the relentless prosecution of her policy of violence, murder and conquest is indeeded unparalleled in nature and extent in the history of relations between modern States. To enumerate wrongs of first magnitude for which Japan is liable:—

1.—Japan has violated the fundamental principles of International Law by infringing the territorial supremacy of the Chinese Republic and usurping the political and administrative powers of the Chinese Government.

2.—Japan has violated the elementary rules of law as well as concepts of humanity by killing and injuring an innumerable number of Chinese citizens and destroying and damaging a yet incalculable amount of public and private property in China.

3.—Japan has violated the Covenant of the League of Nations by which members undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.

4.—Japan has violated the Pact of Paris by which the Contracting Parties renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, and agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

5.—Japan has violated the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 by which the Contracting Parties other than China agree to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China.

6.—Japan has violated her own pledge that she "has no territorial designs in Manchuria" and that she would withdraw her troops into the Railway Zone as speedily as possible.

7.—Japan has violated the repeated injunctions of the League of Nations not to cause further aggravation of the situation already brought about by Japan's invasion of Chinese territory.

The Chinese Government holds the Japanese Government to strict accountability for all its aggressive acts beginning with the attack on Shenyang (Mukden) on September 18, 1931, and culminating in its recognition of the puppet organization on September 15, 1932, as well as for whatever consequences may arise therefrom. The Chinese Government further reserves to itself all rights permitted under present circumstances by International Law and Treaties.

Kuomintang Manifesto on the "September 18" Anniversary

The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang issued a Manifesto at Nanking, September, 18, calling on the people to stand together and pledging to exert its utmost for the overcoming of the present national crisis. The following is a resume of the Manifesto:—

A year has now elapsed since the Three Eastern Provinces, Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang, were occupied by our enemy. Charged as it is with the important trust of the Nation, this Party is convinced that in order to uphold right and justice and preserve national sovereignty and territorial integrity, there is no other course but to concentrate and mobilize the resources of the entire nation and struggle with the aggressors in accordance with the desire of the people.

In the first place, it should be realized that no nation can depend for existence entirely upon outside help. While it is the obligation of the League of Nations to enforce sanctions against Japan for her breach of the Covenant, it is also incumbent upon China to maintain a policy of restraint and a wait calmly the action of the League. Such a step on the part of China does not in the least amount to a helpless appeal for succor. Thus, so long as appeals can still be made to justice and reason, such appeals ought to be made. But the moment such appeals prove unavailing, force should be used to meet force. And should force be exhausted, let us "rather be broken as jade than remain intact as earthen tile."

Secondly, it should be remembered that no nation will be able to resist foreign aggressions until it has been rid of its internal troubles. During the recent Shanghai hostilites, the Central Authorities had ordered reinforcements from various parts of the country. However, owing to the activities of the Communist-bandits, these reinforcements failed to arrive in time. Suppression of the Red banditry is essential to enable the Government to resist foreign aggression, and the energy with which the Government has been prosecuting this bandit-suppression campaign should therefore bear testimony to its determination to resist foreign aggression.

As a result of strenuous efforts on the part of the Government forces, the bandit-menace has declined in virulence and the end of the Reds is not far off.

Thirdly, no nation can overcome a crisis unless the people not only repose unreserved confidence in but also work in whole-hearted cooperation with the Government. That there are radical differences in the political viewpoints of the people is indisputable. However, whatever differences there may be, the nation ought to unite and cooperate together in the face of such a grave crisis as the present. For the country is now like a lone ship on a raging sea, tossed above by storms. All on board should therefore unite together to steer it through its perilous course. How can they place their personal differences above the safety of the ship? This Party is therefore ready to adopt a policy of utmost tolerance and forbearance in order to preserve the existence of the nation. It is also earnestly hoped that all compatriots will join hands in the same spirit.

Fourthly, a State can not survive without a definite policy and preparations over a long period. While it is difficult to predict the future developments of the crisis, there can not perhaps be any doubt that it will increase in gravity.

Its repercussions will be such that more than one nation will be embroiled. There are already signs of volcanic rumblings and an eruption will be inevitable. The fate of the nation will depend upon whether, in the coming international commotion, China will be able to hold her own. We must therefore exert ourselves to make necessary preparations, by awakening the national spirit, improvement of our national defences and training of the people.

Hereafter, this Party will concentrate on the fulfillment of its important responsibility. Concrete work rather than mere words will be its main endeavor. Mindful of the important trust imposed by the nation, it has therefore taken this opportunity to re-affirm its staunch determination to stand or fall by the nation and to strive for the carrying out of this heavy trust. May all compatriots take note of this!

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The Future of Chinese Emigration

By Li Tsun Cheng (李俊昌)

AS the country reputed as possessing the largest population in the world, China naturally is confronted with the vexing problem of providing the means of subsistance for her teeming millions. In fact so important is the problem that the attention of not a few eminent thinkers and economists has been engaged to tackle it, such personages including the Father of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself, the author of the Principle of Livelihood, a treatise wholly devoted to the treatment of the economic ills peculiar to China.

Generally speaking, the standard of living of the average Chinese is a poor one and the hardships to procure enough to keep body and soul together is often aggravated by governmental indifference, official oppression, civil wars, and natural calamities. In view of such prevailing conditions, the instinct of self-preservation prompted the more adventurous type of the Sons of Han, particularly the natives of Kwangtung and Fukien, to seek their fortunes in foreign countries. Today, the development of commerce and the basic industries in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, the Phillipines, Siam, Burma etc. testify to the enterprise of Chinese immigrants and their scions and, to be candid, no account of the history of economic progress of these lands is complete without due reference to the magnificent and indispensable part played by these yellow-skinned settlers.

Immigration Restrictions Everywhere

In a way, the stream of emigration of Chinese from over-populated areas, so long as it runs its course uninterrupted, serves as an admirable safety-value to relieve, to an appreciable extent, the economic pressure of the country. Since the passing of discriminatory laws restricting the immigration of Asiatics by Canada, U.S.A., S. Africa, Australia, New Zealand and other so-called "white" countries, the bulk of Chinese emigrants were absorbed by the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, Burma, Siam, together with a few other Asian states and South Sea Islands. But during recent years, there are growing indications and unmistakable signs which show that the Chinese is regarded as *persona non grata* in these remaining lands. In the early part of 1928, under the pretext of relieving unemployment, the Government of the Straits Settlements followed the policy of the Dutch authorities in bringing out an Immigration Restriction Ordinance. The purport of this action was to give the Governor-in-Council the power to restrict the immigration of laborers and also to deport any undesirable resident from the Colony. This was at once recognised as a veiled attack intended solely for the Chinese who, needless to say, have since been the principal sufferers. The massacre of Chinese during the Korean riots and the forced exodus of thousands of Chinese from the Mexican states of Sonora and Sinola last year are but further instances of the growing difficulties of the Chinese to eke out a meagre livelihood in foreign countries.

Of course, there are certain areas within China, such as Tibet, Mongolia, Sinkiang and other N. W. Provinces, which are only thinly populated and which could be made to relieve the crowded sister provinces. Unfortunately, available transportation facilities are of such a primitive nature that they tend to deter migrations while hopes of the early improvement of communications to the stage of overcoming the existing difficulties and so encourage settlers to set out to these undeveloped regions are certainly remote, considering the present political situation.

Before the Japanese military invasion and occupation, Manchuria, due to the availability of railway transportation, offered alluring opportunities which were eagerly grasped by the victims of devastated areas in China Proper. The vast numbers that have left Shantung, and Hopei, for the N. E. Provinces fully attest to the absorbing qualities of that region. But today, that exit is closed and perhaps permanently unless Dai Nippon is made to live up to her obligations and compelled to give a concrete show of her respect of the treaties which she herself signed recognising Manchuria as part and parcel of China by ordering a complete withdrawal of her troops. Openly, Japan is encouraging Korean emigration to that territory, the cockpit of Asia, which she haughtily defied world opinion to invade as a prelude to future annexation.

That China, even when her natural resources are developed, must eventually find an outlet for her surplus population in thinly populated countries few will disagree. But unfortunately nearly all such territories are exclusively reserved for the white people, although it is true that Canada, Australasia, S. Africa etc. combined has sufficient elbow room to comfortably accommodate tens of millions more. It is interesting to note that nearly all the territories to which Chinese immigrants are barred belong either to, or under the domination of, capitalistic or imperialistic governments. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that such a dog-in-the-manger policy of the "whites" caused a thought provoking article to appear in one of the English journals from which the following is quoted:

The Dog-in-the Manger Policy

"....If the white man does not bestir himself and organise the proper colonisation of territories where he has hoisted his flag and which he neglects to use, other people will fairly claim to employ the land he wrongfully neglects. Europeans cannot reasonably expect to both claim possession of valuable territories and not use them."

We are then led to question: What of the future of Chinese emigration? Is there not a single country with vast vacant spaces in the world to which influx of hardy industrious Chinese are welcomed? These questions make us think of Soviet Russia, particularly Siberia. A traveller to that land in a lecture* describing what he observed in that large country where the worker is a privileged citizen and where the proletariat is exalted, has this to say of the possibility of Russia:

"....Russia is three times as large as the United States, with a population of 160 millions....One has to travel in Russia, especially in Siberia, before one realises the huge extent of the country. In seven days of travel after leaving Moscow, one sees most of the time nothing but forests and open fields. If peopled as Belgium, we were told, Siberia alone would accommodate the present population of the world."

As the self-styled champion of the oppressed workers in capitalistic states, Russia is challenging the present economic civilization. She is exerting her utmost efforts to equip herself for the role of aggressor in the coming fight against capitalism, witness the strength she is expending to make the Five Year Plan a success. Though the idea might be dismissed by some as ridiculous, yet there is the possibility that Chinese immigrants, inured to hardships and admired for their amazing working qualities, but ill-treated and unwanted by capitalistic and imperialiastic states, would be warmly welcomed by the U.S.S.R. With millions of hard-working Chinese laborers at her disposal to develop her resources, and industries and build up a strong country, there is no telling what Soviet Russia might be capable of accomplishing in a comparatively short period. Such a possibility will, it is hoped, prompt the various governments concerned to give this matter due consideration and revise the existing policies vis-a-vis Chinese immigrants.

Pakhoi, July 26th, 1932.

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Abolition of Tael Still a Matter for the Future

London banking circles are stated to be sceptical as regards the opinion that was recently expressed by a member of the Commission formed recently by Finance Minister Soong that the tael, in spite of the opposition of the Shanghai native banks, will be quickly abolished. It is considered in London that this viewpoint must be treated with the greatest reservation. As a matter of fact, though the growing popularity of the national currency, the silver dollar, is admitted, it is considered hardly probable that the tael would completely disappear. The indications locally also are that there is no immediate likelihood of the tael being abolished.

Kiangnan Arsenal Equipment Goes to Nanking

Affairs at the Kiangnan Arsenal, Shanghai, are to be wound up by the end of this month. The entire equipment is being transported to Nanking for amalgamation with the Kiangning (Nanking) Arsenal. The workers are being discharged for the present, but will be re-employed as far as possible when the machinery is again installed at Nanking. The amalgamated works will be named the "Hu-Ning" (Shanghai-Nanking Arsenal.)

Pearl Buck Talks of Her Life in China

BY S. J. WOOLF
(In the New York Times Magazine)

PEARL Buck, author of the latest Pulitzer Prize novel, is in N. Y. for the first time since "The Good Earth" was chosen as the most noteworthy book of fiction of the year. Although she is an American, she comes more or less as a stranger; our ways are not her ways. For almost all her life she has lived in China. She is, of course, Western in appearance. Her eyes are large and round and blue, her hair is wavy and brown, and the dress she wore when she talked to me in the tower of a modern hotel was a figured chiffon.

To her, so typical in appearance of a young American matron, the hurry, the bustle and the feverish tempo of our modern life seemed futile and useless and almost puzzling. The static solemnity of an older nation had left its indelible impression upon her mind: clanging cars and tooting automobiles sent up a roar of jazz which grated on ears attuned to quieter and more leisurely sounds.

"It's hard for me to say how the American woman reacts to the East, for the reason that my very earliest recollections are those of China," she said in answer to one of my questions.

Her manner is subdued, her voice low, and as she spoke, though her eyes looked out at the neighboring skyscrapers she apparently did not see them.

"My parents," she continued, "were missionaries from Virginia who moved about among the towns of China. Except for one sister younger than I, all my playmates were the children of natives. Most of my playing was around a small bungalow on the top of a hill near the city of Chinkiang. This was my parents' home, and, though in one direction we could look down upon the 'tiled roofs of a crowded city, on all other sides were wooded mountains, gardened valleys and bamboo groves and a curving, quiet-flowing river.

Drawn from Life by S. J. Woolf

"The Good Earth Is the Good Earth No Matter Whether It Be China or America"

"At the foot of the hill was the temple—a temple about which it was forbidden to play; if I venturned too near, an old priest would chase me away with a great bamboo pole." She stared out of the window for a moment and then went on. "As soon as I was old enough my mother took my education in hand. She taught me not only the things one would ordinarily learn at school, but she also opened up for me the beauties of art and music and, what was more important, she made me conscious of the beauty of words in themselves.

"But after my lessons were finished I roamed about the neighboring country, speaking with the natives, learning strange tales that no white child probably had ever heard before. Besides I had an old Chinese nurse and I can still see her sitting darning stockings and telling me stories of her childhood, of famines and robbers—stories which made European fairy tales seem tame in comparison and which, moreover, were true.

"By the time I was sent to school at Shanghai I had ceased to think of myself as different from the Chinese, if indeed I had ever thought so. China was a part of me so inbred that I do not think I shall ever lose it."

When Mrs. Buck was about 17 she was sent first to Europe and then to Randolph Macon College, in Virginia.

"When I got home to Virginia—for, no matter where we were, Virginia was always home to my mother—I was a very lonely girl," she went on. "My fellow-students at college had their friends and interests, which were all foreign to me. It was some time before I could adjust myself, and I think it was from them rather than from my Chinese friends that I first learned that, after all, race and color were not insurmountable. I felt closer and more akin to my friends, whom I had left than to these girls of my own race.

"It is hard to explain the position in which I found myself. Yet little by little I began to see that the girls from Richmond were essentially the same as my friends in Chinkiang. Circumstances might affect some of their ideas but basically they were alike.

"Despite this, however, I did not enjoy my college life very much. I can easily understand how a Chinese girl feels when she comes here, for during a large part of the time I went to college I was always an object of curiosity to many of the students. To each newcomer I was pointed out as a freak who had lived in China all her life and who could speak Chinese as well as English."

I asked Mrs. Buck whether her Chinese reading had influenced her style in English.

"I suppose it has," she answered. "The greatest influence, I should say, was the King James version of the Bible, which my father often used to read to us when I was young. Then there are the older Chinese writings, which, strange to say, are couched in the same majestic phrases as our Bible. Brought up as I was on these two classes of writings and deprived of conversation in English with children of my own age, it was but natural that they should play a part in my own writing."

I asked what kinds of Chinese books she read.

"All kinds—poetry, history and novels. Of course, the Chinese students, particularly the older ones, will not acknowlege that they ever read novels and, if they do, they say they did so when they were young. As a matter of fact, the novel until comparatively recently was not highly regarded by the Chinese.

"Today there is a younger set of writers, affecting that modernity which is so much in evidence in the literature of Europe, but, despite themselves, they cannot get away from the old China with its ages of culture and traditions. China, with its tremendous, somber background, is too

great to be ignored. Its weight is overpowering and this very quality tends toward conservatism."

I mentioned that Sven Hedin had told me that he felt the Europeans were exerting a disastrous influence on China.

Mrs. Buck smiled.

"China is too vast, too static to feel the influence of Europe," she said. "China is unconquerable. If it does not resist with weapons, then it does with its spirit. It is this resistance which will always continue.

"The Chinese can bide their time now as they have done in the past. In the individual Chinese there is a mighty power of waiting, a power of never forgetting either assistance or injury. They realize their strength, and China may be compelled to yield. But even if she does, that does not mean she is vanquished, nor will she ever go down in real defeat. In what she may apparently be conquered, but secretly she will yield in nothing. The life of China will go on intact."

That is the inscrutability of the Chinese," I remarked.

"He is no more inscrutable than the European," she replied. "Above all else, the average Chinese is well mannered and, as a consequence, treats strangers, particularly those who he knows regard him as something apart, with a certain amount of reserve.

"But get to know him better and that reserve, which is mistaken for inscrutability, disappears. I have found the Chinese open, trusting and without guile. Another mistaken idea is that which attributes a lack of humor to him. Strange as it may sound, I have found him much like the Irishman in possessing a spirit of fun and light-heartedness."

I asked her about her life in China.

"I have very few white women as friends," she replied. "In China there are three classes of foreigners. They are those who are connected with legations, those in business there and the missionaries. All of these people live in the larger cities and move in closed circles. My life has always been among the Chinese. After I was married, the Chinese women would talk to me as woman to woman and friend to friend."

In reply to my question as to the change in the condition of women, Mrs. Buck replied:

"Their condition has changed since they have acquired more legal rights, but not entirely for the better.

"In the old days a married woman had at least a certain sense of security. If she was unable to hold her husband's love and he took a concubine, the wife still had a place in the family and was not disgraced and left without support. Now she is divorced and loses everything. If she is not Western-trained, she has no way of making a living and loses her place in her husband's family and in his life entirely.

"For ages men were accustomed to having more than one wife. As in many other Eastern peoples, the stability of their feelings is linked to the family rather than to one woman. In the old days, the concubinage system, now forbidden by law, brought bitterness and disunity. Today the wife may have no actual rivals in her own home, yet she must always face the danger of divorce. Until Chinese men change their psychology, women are in an uncertain state.

"In speaking of China, one must remember that there are two Chinas—the great old one and that one which comes in contact with European civilization. People go to China, visit Shanghai and think they have seen China. They know nothing whatever about that part of China which has never felt the influence of Europe, and that is a very large part of the country. You cannot judge America by New York, and Shanghai is less important to China than New York is to America. The real country lies far beyond Shanghai, untouched by all European contacts."

"What about religion?" I inquired.

"As in many places in the West, the younger people have lost this old religion and have found no substitute for it. As I told you before, in essentials the Chinese are the same as Europeans. And yet when I am asked what they are like, I do not know. They are not this and that, they are people. I cannot describe them any more than I can my own blood kin. I am too near them and have shared their lives too closely. That is probably the reason why I particularly dislike all those writings about the Chinese which make them strange and outlandish."

Mrs. Buck had not been in America long what I saw her. It is her first visit here in some years. The changes that have taken place appall her. She wonders how any one can live in New York.

"At present," she said, "my husband and I live in an old brick house in Nanking and about it is a great garden which I love and where I work and play about among the trees and flowers. It is in this garden that a large part of our lives is spent.

"When I come to America I do not stay in the cities any more than I can help. Up along the Hudson we spend as much time as we can upon a little farm. From a hill we can see the Hudson River, and often as I have stood there and seen farmers all about working the land, I have felt that the good earth is the good earth no matter whether it be China or America."

Chinese Paper Blames Telephone Co. for Extra-Settlement Road Impasse

The *Min Pao*, a Chinese daily newspaper in Shanghai, in a recent article, claimed that responsibility for delays in installing telephones for residents on extra-Settlement roads has been shifted by the Chinese Public Utility Bureau to the shoulders of the Shanghai Telephone Company. The paper points out that although a provisional agreement was signed between the telephone company and Greater Shanghai Municipality covering this question and extra-Settlement roads, no formal agreement has yet been signed and residents on these roads, although wishing to become subscribers, have been kept in ignorance of the real situation. They were all told by the telephone company, the paper states, to make application to the Public Utility Bureau for installation of their telephones, whereas the latter is unable to undertake such work without the formal agreement having been signed. It is stated that Public Utility Bureau sent a letter to the Shanghai Telephone Company a few days ago declaring that this latter concern must be held responsible for the postponement of the signing of the formal agreement and that the said concern should explain hereafter to the people residing on extra-Settlement roads that it has lost the privilege of installing telephones in the extra-Settlement zone.

Dr. C. C. Wu Arrives Here from the South

Dr. C. C. Wu, former Chinese minister to Washington, and Admiral Chen Chek, commander of the Fourth Naval Squadron in Canton, and their wives, arrived here from Hongkong end of last week and are scheduled to leave within a fortnight for Peiping. Interviewed by Chinese pressmen here both Dr. Wu and Admiral Chen stated that they are planning a trip to the old capital but that their journey will be devoid of any political significance. Dr. Wu expressed himself optimistically in regard to the recovery of Manchuria, saying that the goal will be attained should his countrymen follow the lead of the French people. In this respect, the former foreign minister explained that France retrieved Alsace-Lorraine from Germany after 50 years' struggle. "If the people are strong in their determination, the possibility for recovery of Manchuria is great," Dr. Wu said.

Soviet Oil For Japan---Contract For Fuel for Japanese Navy

A group of prominent Japanese business men passed through Berlin enroute to Moscow last week for the purpose of negotiating a big petroleum contract with the Soviet Naptha Syndicate. The main objective of the proposed agreement with the Soviet oil authorities (according to a *Transocean* message) is to establish an understanding which will make the Japanese navy entirely independent of United States oil supplies. The growth of tension between Japan and the United States because of events in Manchuria has increased the Japanese Navy's urgent desire to emancipate itself from reliance upon the oil resources of America and to substitute Soviet Russia as the purveyor of fuel oil to the Nipponese fleet.

Wealthy Singapore Chinese Sentenced to Death in Hongkong

Cheng Kwok-yau, the son of a Singapore milionaire was sentenced to death at Hongkong September 14, after having been found guilty of procuring the murder of George Fung, a well-known Chinese resident of Hongkong. Love and jealousy were the central motives of the crime, for Cheng is alleged to have murdered Fung for having alienated the affections of Miss Lai Ming-fai, a prominent Chinese movie star. All the parties concerned in the case are from wealthy families. An appeal to the Privy Council has been lodged on behalf of Cheng.

Will Japan Triumph Over Russia and America?

(From the Review's Tokyo Correspondent)

The whole of Japan is now enveloped in a gloomy atmosphere of restlessness not from her internal anxiety but from international relations, one of the main causes being the unprecedented depreciation of the Yen—mainly in consequence of her Manchurian policy—as insisted upon by the *Economist* and other leading periodicals. Accordingly it is but natural that the people push their imaginations on to the eventual happening, that is, war.

The idea of war is of course distasteful to average Japanese people, but they cannot close their ears to a talk of war. Nay, they listen to it with ears pricked up and ruminate it waking or sleeping. The more they dislike the idea the more it would cling to them. A peddlers' wayside talk of a summons to the colors or an enormous turn-out of arms, would sink deep into the peaceful listeners' hearts and weigh heavily.

Taking advantage of the pointed nerves of the innocent masses there have appeared a number of "war books" for money-making purposes. These money-makers' views are wholly unreliable irrespective whether they took up their pen voluntarily or were prompted by the indecent publishers. A discourse meeting of the Army and Navy officers on the topic of "Will Japan win in her war with Russia and America?" was held under the auspices of *Hinode*, an influential magazine. Especially noteworthy is the fact that in this case, unlike in some other cases of individual writers, their discussions in book form are recommended by the Army, Navy and Staff Offices. The following is a mere outline of the discussions by the fifteen officers and Shinsaku Hirata as published in the October number of *Hinode*. It is to be regretted that their discussions are often unsystematic and there are turns at crucial points.

The officers present:

Lieut.-Gen. Shikimori—was Commander of the 16th Division then stationed in North Manchuria; a noted strategist.

Lieut.-Gen. Nobutaka Shioten—was attached to the 3rd Division Head Quarter until 1929; an authority on the international military affairs, and had attended several international gatherings.

Lieut.-Gen. Toyoki Takata—was attached to the General Staff Office until 1927; a rare authority on Chinese affairs.

Lieut.-Gen. Shigetaro Tanida—is known as a founder of Japanese military aviation.

Lieut.-Gen. Kantaro Futakoishi—was Commander of the Tokyo Bay Fortress until 1928; an authority on national defence measures.

Lieut.-Gen. Mantaro Watanabe—is an Army authority on France; a rare gunnery expert.

Major-Gen. Masanosuke Ito—was attached to the Head Quarters of the Imperial Guard Division.

Major-Gen. Eiki Takeuchi—is an authority on military history; was Commander of the 39th Brigade.

Rear-Adm. Shiro Inoue—is a Director of the Aviation Association.

Rear-Adm. Kaku Endo—is a strategist.

Rear-Adm. Ichiro Fukude—an authority on submarine and torpedo warfare second to none in the Navy.

Captain Gumpei Sekine—is a professor of the Naval College and on the staff of the Naval General Staff Office; a rare strategist well versed in things American.

Captain Kunishige Taketomi—well understands Japanese Navydom.

Commander Keijun Oke—attached to the Naval General Staff Office and Navy Office; has good knowledge of international affairs.

Commander Masao Kato—on the staff of the Naval General Staff Office and the Aviation Headquarters; a noted navel aviator.

Shinsaku Hirata—the most popular critic on military affairs.

A Japan-American War as Viewed by Army Officers

Reporter: Is the much feared Japan-American conflict really inevitable? I want your frank opinions.

Lieut.-Gen. Shioten: I confirm the popular idea that the cause of what they call an inevitable Japan-American war lies in the development of the Sino-Japanese relations and not in the clash of interests between America and Japan. The attitudes taken by America ever since Manchuria and Shanghai Incidents amply demonstrates the conjecture.

Lieut.-Gen. Shiki: If a war between Japan and America is really unavoidable it is now the best time for it as far as our Naval power is concerned, for the Japanese navy can now be ranked among those of Britain and America. It is almost impossible to attack the strong navy from so remote a country as America. Britain would never side with America, because her actual condition of national defence is quite different from that of America. We admit that their naval strengths are almost equal, but, while it is quite easy for America to shift her entire naval forces on either to the Pacific or the Atlantic, the same is denied Britain who has her own dependencies to be taken care of. The diplomatic conditions in Europe are far from guaranteeing peace. Suppose Britain and America unite against Japan and they emerge victorious. Japan would be beaten down mercilessly until she is crippled. Then comes the British turn to be finished. Seen from another angle, however, and imagine the war ends in favor of Japan. America with its overwhelming vitality would be sure to recover quickly while the conqueror still remains exhausted. This is why I don't think Britain would like to see the war end in the victory of America. Of course we admit the fact that the damage done to Britain's China trade would be enormous if she displeases Japan, but should Britain burn her fingers in her diplomatic relations with America all her dependencies would receive menace from America. Britain's good-will toward Japan may have been born of such considerations.

Japan's National Defence Is Negative

Reporter: I hear that among French naval officers there are those who deny the strategic value of Singapore Naval Base. What are your opinions?

Lieut.-Gen. Shiki: In my idea Britain's Singapore Base is provided against America and not against Japan. America is anxious to acquire overseas markets for her manufactures. It is America, Italy, and Russia that are now taking positive national defence measures. The advantage the European War brought to Italy was rather small, and Mussolini's positive policy lies in the restoration of her former glory. The Russian positive policy is expressed most undisguised; it gets on quite steadily side by side with its Communism. As to Britain and France, maintenance of *status quo* is all what they desire. While, in the case of Germany, her death struggle in making positive movement is all to save her country and people in distress. Perhaps, people would like to know whether Japan's advance into Manchuria is based on her negative policy or positive measures. Well, I declare that it is entirely on her nagative policy, because if Japan did otherwise she could never exist. Quite unlike the positive defence of America which desires to have more territory than enough, Japan's is limited to seeking for means of national existence; if, accordingly, this inevitable growth should be checked, a mountain of dried human beings would be the result. What looks like positive is negative in its core.

Reporter: I know the term of "offensice defence of operations." Japan's is the offensive defence based upon the state policy. Isn't it?

Lieut.-Gen. Shiki: Yes, it is. If Japan had resorted to really positive measures, she ought to have taken possession of Manchuria long before. As already mentioned Japan's activities never go over the bounds of the meagrest means of subsistence. In the past she took up arms only when she was so oppressed that no other means was denied her. Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars are the examples. The recent Manchurian affair also falls under the category of negative national defence measures. There are some compatriots who fear that the steps taken by their country may be a little too forward. If, however, the nation remained passive she might shorten her natural term of existence. The idea is thrilling.

Japan's Air Defence Is Insufficient

Lieut.-Gen. Shioten: About the future air defence I am quite in accord with Field Marshall Uehara's views. He argues that in any town there is a heart which constitutes the life centre of the town and if it is lost the rest of the town would cease to live. If we succeed in shooting down the enemy's airplanes as they entered the city's sky, no small damage they would do to the town below if they had bombs on board. To prevent the damage the air-raid must be checked at about 20 kilometres away from the town; in which case, however, hundreds of anti-aircraft guns would not be sufficient. This indicates that the air defence area should be

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cut smaller so that only the political and economic centre of the town is safeguarded.

Lieut.-Gen. Tanaka: What the Marshall said is interesting, but it must be remembered that unlike those in Europe houses in our country have weak resistance to fire; a fire would quickly spread to lick out the rest of the town. This is dangerous.

Lieut.-Gen. Futakoishi: Japan is far behind Russia and America as far as the number of airplanes is concerned. If she fight with America in the Orient, her air force is absolutely inferior. What she fears most is the air-raids. Those coming from the sea would break through the navy's defence line. In the Great War 20 to 30% of the raiding crafts broke through the well equipped air defences in Paris. Consequently, the basic question is to destroy the enemy's air base although we..... Vladivostok, what, if we had to repel attacks from the Pacific and the Northern course? The lack of air defence observation stations to foreknow the approach of the enemy's crafts, is a heavy blow to our air defence. Besides this, Tokyo is very conveniently situated along the coast line for the enemy's air assault. The best measures thinkable under the present state of things, may be no other than to destroy the enemy's assaulting crafts with superior planes of ours. The most important air defence areas in our country are Tokyo, Osaka, North Kyushu, and Nagoya, to which the enemy's crafts would direct their course. In this case no less than 20 to 30% would succeed in flying past the defence line into the hearts of the above towns. Against each one of these we direct our superior plane to make a single combat between them. This is all that I can think of. Whereas there is in France the Air Defence Commission, in England Air Defence Brigade, in Italy and Russia Air Defence Volunteer Armies, and in America its own mighty organization, we have nothing of the kind in our country.

Chemical War Is the Most Dreadful

Reporter: I hear in America they manufacture 100 tons of poisonous gas every day. One hundred tons of poisonous gas bombs are quite sufficient to annihilate the whole Tokyo citizenry. And as for gas masks they prepare in America 6,000 pieces every day at their chemical factory. Against such overwhelming menace, countermeasures such as masks or the places of refuge for citizens should be thoroughly studied.

Lieut.-Gen. Futakoishi: Among various kinds of the enemy's air-raids most ferocious is the bomb which burns even water, and none can stand within 100 metres of the bomb when it explodes. Just suppose a score of bombing machines carrying these horrible bombs on board appear above the city of Tokyo dropping them here and there! On the occasion of the Great Kanto Earth Quake fire broke out at fifty places within the city area and reduced into ashes most of the metropolis. It would be a thousand times easier with airplanes. In the face of such almighty power of the air force our army is duty bound first of all to carry the enemy's air base.

Lieut.-Gen. Futakoishi: It may be next to impossible to successfully prevent the advance of the enemy's planes into the sky of the Capital when we remember that in the Great European War strong air defence and camouflage failed to escape the air attack; how much more difficult to drive back the wholesale attack of 2,000 military planes, 1,800 naval planes and 15,000 civilian planes of America!

Lieut.-Gen. Shiki: Can they bring those planes over to Japan?

Lieut.-Gen. Takata: A slight reconstruction of merchant ships would make transport-vessels, and so some considerable number of planes might be expected.

Reporter: I hear that in a certain quarter of the Navy they insist that since it is hopeless to guarantee the perfect town defense against air-raids they would take an active method of defense by dashing their crafts against the enemy's.

Another Russo-Japanese War Inevitable?

Reporter: It is an undeniable truth that Japan is now placed in a most critical international situation. I remember once Mr. Lampson boldly remarked "Japan is an aggressor," but I think she is misunderstood in such a way by all the countries of the world. If so, a diplomatic tangle may come at any moment finally to be settled by force of arms. This is why the Army and Navy are now the object of the nation's trust. Now, since Gen. Ma Chan-shan's failure there is a growing possibility of direct contact of armies of Japan and Russia in North Manchuria. The latter's forces on the border have recently been very much increased.

Lieut.-Gen. Shioten: To me it seems the Russian question is not in so high a state of tension as it looks. The Russians are about to enter their second stage of national economic construction. It may be impossible for Russia to send big forces to the Far East without solicitude about her western countries. Therefore, far from gaining she would lose much in waging war. It may be that with her hereditary tactical demonstrations she intends to throw Japan and Manchukuo into confusion thereby creating a war between Japan and some other country, and when everything has thus turned out just as she wished for, to come out to do some job. But, in order not to get her heart seen through, she sent more Divisions and as many as 150 airplanes—apparently pretending to be ready to take up arms at a moment's notice.

(To be concluded)

New U. S. Consul at Nanking

John Carter Vincent, former American Consul stationed at Mukden, who with Mrs. Vincent and their child recently returned from home leave, has been adpointed Consul at Nanking, where he will assist Willys R. Peck, Consul-General. Mr. Vincent is a native of Seneca, Kansas where he was born on August 19, 1900. Mr. Vincent attended Clemson College for one year following which he entered Mercer University from which institution he was graduated with the A. B. degree. After engaging in business for a time, he joined the Department of State and was appointed to the U. S. Consulate at Changsha. In 1925 he was appointed a Foreign Service Officer and has served at various consular posts in China and also at the Legation at Peiping. Mr. Vincent was in charge of the American Consulate-General at Mukden last year when the Japanese inaugurated their intervention movement and served throughout the period of the Japanese occuation of that territory. His appointment to the Consulate at Nanking indicates the increasing importance of that post which now serves practically as the American Legation although the American Minister still maintains his residence in Peiping, while making occasional trips to Nanking and Shanghai.

The Government of Japan

BY HARRY PAXTON HOWARD

THERE are widespread misconceptions about the government of Japan. The parliamentary machinery which exists, the manner in which the cabinet appears as the executive organ of the country, the heated electoral campaigns and party struggles, tend to create an impression that Japan possesses parliamentary government, and that the civil power is superior to the military. Though the Japanese constitution, and the few important ordinances which lie outside it, can be read through in a few minutes, there are comparatively few persons, even among those who discuss Japan and Japanese affairs so glibly, who have ever taken trouble to do such reading, and understand the meaning of the old and accurate definition of the Japanese government as an absolutism under constitutional forms.

Power of Imperial Throne

The Emperor of Japan, indeed, does not tend to push himself forward in political affairs. It is generally regarded, indeed, as one of the strong points of the monarchy that the Emperor is himself outside of politics. Whatever errors may be made at times, they are the work of politicians or bureaucrats, and only in time of real need does the bureaucracy shield itself by turning the face of the Emperor to the people.

It is, however, through the great powers of the Throne that the bureaucracy has exercised its rule since the Restoration. For more than forty years now these powers have been clothed in constitutional forms. The Emperor is not only "sacred and inviolable . . . the head of the Empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty," but the imperial succession itself is decided by "the provisions of the Imperial House Law," which was promulgated at the same time as the Constitution and lies wholly outside the control of the Diet (Constitution, Art. 74).*

But while Parliament, or the Diet as it is known in Japan, has no control whatsoever over the Throne or over succession, the Emperor has full power to dissolve the Diet at will. Not only this, but he possesses the power to issue imperial ordinances possessing the full force of law—a truly autocratic power. In theory, such ordinances are subject to subsequent review by the Diet, but that the Diet should reject an ordinances promulgated by the Emperor is quite out of the question. The Emperor is far more powerful than parliament.

Control of Army and Navy

The military power is the determinant of control in a State. In Japan this power is under the supreme command of the Emperor, and completely independent of the Diet. This principle must be understood before the contradictions between military and civil policy, which appear at times, can be fully comprehended. The Emperor has supreme command of the Army and Navy, determines their organization and peace standing, declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties, and declares a state of siege. Under his sovereignty are held both the military and civil powers, but the civil has no control over the military, while the military is able to completely dominate the civil.

How this is accomplished is, first, through the direct contact of the military with the Emperor. The Minister of War (Army) and Minister of the Navy may approach the Emperor direct. Other Cabinet ministers, however, may only advise the Throne through the Prime Minister. The Ministers of War and of the Nayy, it should be added, must be high ranking officers in the Army and Navy respectively. As these bodies are close and stringently disciplined organizations, originally under the control of the Choshu and Satsuma feudal clans respectively and still retaining the feudal *esprit de corps*, this means that no cabinet can be formed without agreement with the Army and Navy, and that either of these bodies can wreck a cabinet by simply withdrawing their representatives, and refusing to supply others. No civilian can take their place.

A State Within a State

The extent to which the Army and Navy constitute a state within the State, under the direct rule of the Emperor but independent of the civil power, is shown by Article 32 of the Constitution, which expressly provides that the various "Rights and Duties of Subjects" laid down by this document shall "apply to the officers and men of the Army and of the Navy" only insofar as they "are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the Army and Navy." Here, it is clear, the laws of the Army and Navy are above the Constitution, in their own sphere. The heads of these bodies are responsible only to their supreme commander, the Emperor.

It is evident that the powers of the Japanese Constitution itself are strictly circumscribed. They do not extend over the Army and Navy, which form a practically independent corporation under the sovereignty of the Emperor. Furthermore, the Constitution has no determining power over the imperial succession, this being determined by the Imperial House Law. On the other hand, the Constitution can be altered or amended only by an imperial order, which of course must pass through the Diet (Article 73). Neither parliament nor people can initiate or even petition for any alteration.

Powers of Parliament

From all this it might appear that the Japanese Parliament or Diet is simply a debating society with no political power whatsoever. This, however, is not exactly the case. The Diet has a fairly important measure of power in the extent to which it controls the budget. Whoever holds the purse-strings of a government is in a position to control its policy.

"The expenditure and revenue of the State require the consent of the Imperial Diet by means of an annual Budget." There are, however, exceptions to this provision. The expenditures of the Imperial House do not require the consent of the Diet. Furthermore, there is a class of "extraordinary expenditures," on matters agreed to by earlier Diets covering a term of years, over which the Diet has no control. Also, the government can take emergency financial measures by means of Imperial ordinances, though in such cases (as with other imperial edicts) these must be subsequently approved by the Diet.

The bulk of government expenditures, however, require the approval of the Diet. There is, though an important check on a too independent Diet. If the parliamentarians reject the budget brought in by the government, the latter can carry on with the budget for the previous year. Reduced to its simplest terms, therefore, the power of the Diet is that it can prevent to some extent the expansion of government expenditures. In a period of steady growth and expansion this power may be of much importance, as a government under such conditions cannot carry on from year to year on the same budget. In any particular year, however, the government possesses the means, if necessary, to ignore and dissolve the Diet.

Power of Obstruction

What the Diet possesses, therefore, is a certain power of obstruction,—a power which in the hands of determined men might effectually sabotage government attempts at expansion. But it must he borne in mind further that the Diet consists of two houses a House of Peers and a House of Representatives, and that the position of the former is stronger than that of the latter.

The organization of the House of Peers is determined by an Imperial Ordinance, so that the Representatives have no control over it. It consists of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, of imperial nominees, and of representatives of the highest taxpayers. (At present the number of non-titled members is a little greater than that of the titled members.) It is not subject to dissolution. Also, it has jurisdiction over disputes concerning the election of its members.

In all these points this aristocratic body is stronger than the House of Representatives, whose composition is determined by a statute which must be passed by both houses. The lower house can be dissolved by the government in case of need, and it has no jurisdiction over election disputes concerning its own members, which are an affair of the government.

Even the Diet, therefore, with the limited powers it possesses, is not to be regarded as a representative body. It consists of two houses, one of which is aristocratic, capitalistic, and far stronger than the one which is elected by manhood suffrage. In order for the Representatives, therefore, to exert any positive influence whatsoever, it is necessary for them to gain the approval of the Peers. Such is the actual situation. Such is "constitutional government" in Japan.

The Exercise of Power

Here we have, indeed, an absolutism under constitutional forms. And yet the actual exercise of powor does not rest with the Emperor. The great powers of the Throne have been exercised by a group of bureaucrats who have generally succeeded in keeping the Emperor himself above and outside of politics. Some see in this a continuation of the feudal regime, in which the Emperor retained his court and his imperial title at Kyoto while all real temporal power

*Contrast this with such monarchies as Britain, where the rules of succession are determined by Act of Parliament.

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was in the hands of the feudal lords, who were ruled during the last two and a half centuries before the Restoration by the Shogun at Tokyo (then Yedo).

Samurai leaders from the fiefs which overthrew the Shogunate—particularly the Satsuma and Choshu clans—ruled the country after the Restoration, down to the period of the Constitution (beginning forty-two years ago) and during it. A powerful bureaucracy in the hands of these men really exercised power. Down to the nineties it was the "civil bureaucrats," aiming at internal development and checking the jingoists, who held power, but with the promulgation of the Constitution a new problem arose due to the constant opposition of the lower house in the Diet, which took advantage of its power of obstructing the budget to make new demands on the government at each session,—demands the fulfilment of which would have ultimately meant parliamentary control. After year after year of alternate concessions and dissolutions, the government turned in desperation to an external war (the first Sino-Japanese conflict) to unite parliament. The appeal to patriotism succeeded in Japan just as it has succeeded in other countries, and the mass of the politicians were at once falling over each other in their eagerness to vote war credits.

The Military Bureaucrats and Their Decline

This, however, meant the end of Ito and the civil bureaucrats. It was at this period that the Imperial Ordinance was secured which gave the Army and Navy respectively their monopoly on the War and Navy seats in the Cabinet (already referred to), a monopoly which gave the militarists a strangle-hold on the machinery of state, and enabled them to overcome both the civil bureaucrats and the refractory politicians. From that time on (the period of Japan's great military expansion) the military men, headed by Yamagata, became the determinants of national policy, and named and dismissed governments as they found advisable. Yamagata himself was popularly known as "O Gosho Sama," a title likening him to the Shogun who ruled in Tokyo a half-century before. Until his death in 1922, he was the most influential man in Japan,—the real power behind the Throne.

During the past decade things have been less simple. The Genro, or Elder Statesmen, the group of bureaucrats (mostly Choshu and Satsuma men, who controlled the Army and Navy respectively) who had built the new Japan, were dying out. Yamagata, of the Choshu clan, in control of the Army and of the government at the same time, represented unity. His death ten years ago was the end of an epoch. Only two Elder Statemen were left, and of these Matsukata died two years later, leaving only Saionji, who was not a clansman an all, but a member of one of the oldest aristocratic families of the imperial court at Kyoto, and who in his younger days, after years of study abroad, had advocated genuine democracy for Japan, stopping his radical publication only at the personal request of the Emperor. Virtually conscripted for the Genro, he only gradually assumed activity, and even twenty years ago was exerting unsuccessfully his influence against military expansion. Today, by the irony of fate, he is the one remaining Elder Statesman, at a time of the most ruthless military activity. But Saionji is 93 years old, and though he is the individual of greatest power, who is called upon whenever a crisis in Japanese politics require the wisdom of the Genro, the years have subdued him, and the militarists today have little to fear from him. And he is the last of the Genro.

The Privy Council

The Genro had no official status in the Japanese Constitution. They were above and beyond it. No single group of men today wields the power which they wielded. In military affairs, the Army and Navy are almost a law unto themselves. In civil affairs, there is a group of influential men, a sort of "minor Genro," but commanding far less prestige and power than the Elder Statesmen. The Lord Privy Seal, an institution of the Imperial House and therefore above the Constitution, advises the Emperor in both State and Imperial House affairs, and "countersigns the Imperial Order to appoint the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Imperial Household."* There is furthermore the Privy Council, a consultative body whose members are named by the Emperor, and which is not responsible to the Diet. The President of this Council is a very powerful man. The body includes, in addition to its President, Vice-President, and twenty-four appointed councillors, the twelve Cabinet Ministers, sitting exofficio. Its functions are to "deliberate upon important matters of State, when they have been consulted by the Emperor" (Article 56). In effect, however, the nature and traditions of this body are not such as to give it a position of leadership.

To the extent to which the government must depend upon the Diet for support, there is the powerful aristocratic body of the House of Peers as a conservative force which may be depended upon. Even the limited powers of the Diet, therefore, are divided, and the House of Representatives is the lesser half.

How Ministries Are Made

Ministries do not fall in Japan as a result of an adverse vote in the House. They fall because the powers that rule have decided that a change in policy or personnel is necessary. Changes are usually made in direct opposition to the majority in the elected house.

Many persons, unacquainted with Japan's political system, gave much significance to the "liberal ministry" created in July 1929, and took it as a sign of growing "liberalism" in Japan. Whatever significance may be attributed to this erstwhile "Liberalism" however, the position in the House had nothing to do with it. The Tanaka ministry had the support of the majority party (the Seiyukai) in the House. When this ministry was forced (mainly by the Privy Council's attitude) to resign, the new "liberal" government was formed with the support of the Minseito, a minority party in the House.

This was, by a striking coincidence, shortly after the formation of the Labor Government in Britain. (It will be recalled that at the end of 1928 there were certain negotiations between Japan and Britain—then under Tory rule,—and "understandings" reported with regard to their policy towards China, so that certain coincidences in apparent political changes in the two countries might be interpreted on this ground.) The following winter, however, a general election was held in Japan, and the Minseito obtained a majority, as the government usually does, enabling the cabinet to carry on until last year.

Last autumn, after the creation of a Tory-dominated government in Britain, there was a change in Japanese politics. The "liberal" government, though having a majority in the House, was compelled to resign. The new government which was named carried on with a minority until the general election, when they obtained a majority of seats in the House. And so goes the political order in Japan.

Parliament and Government

The one striking advance that has been made in recent years is the democratization of the House of Representaives. This body is now chosen by general manhood suffrage. Its lack of genuine control, however, and the wholesale bribery to which governments have long resorted in order to gain majorities, have quite corrupted the mass of politicians as well as many of the electorate, and the sort of "party changes" which are to be noted in Japan are to be understood simply and solely on this ground. The government which a mandate has put into power against the opposition of a parliamentary majority must confirm itself by gaining control of the Lower House. Accordingly, a new election is ordered, and the new government sends out instructions to prefectural goverors (who are appointed by the central government) and to other officials, to see that the elections are "successful." Bribery, or intimidation, or both, control a sufficient number of electors to bring a majority to the "government" party, whatever party this happens to be. After all, one party is about as good (or as bad) as the other, and in hard times the money paid for a vote comes in quite handy. And Japan, it may be parenthetically noted, is not the only country where wholesale buying of votes is common.

In recent years, indeed, there has been an increase of members of parliament who take their duties seriously and act sincerely for definite policies. There are, for example, the various Labor and Socialist parties (until this year divided among themselves), the Business Men's Party (which has declined since its appearance a decade ago), and a number of the Independents. In all, however, such members do not total a score in the House. Furthermore, the "proletarian parties," as the labor, peasant, and Socialist parties are collectively known in Japan, have had to face violence and unconstitutional pressure, The Farmer-Labor Party, for example. was suppressed by the authorities, and one of its elected representatives in the House was assassinated. In election campaigns the authorities frequently stop or prevent labor and Socialist meetings and arrest their candidates and speakers. (As for Communism, this is under

*The Government of Japan. By Naokichi Kitazawa, M.A. Princeton University Press, 1929. Mr. Kitazawa gives an excellent outline of the Japanese political structure, though he fails to point out the special power exercised by the Army and Navy through their ability to wreck ministries, ank he repeatedly speaks of the Cabinet as being dependent on the House, and even states—quite erroneously—that "the Cabinet must resign when it loses the confidence of the Diet, especially of the popular House."

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the ban completely.) In at least one prefecture a group of peasant representatives elected to the Assembly were expelled by the authoritics, virtually disfranchising their electors.

Local Government

Regarding local government, it should be noted that the real authorities, appointed by the central government, stand above any local elective body. The whole system is strongly and rigidly centralized. Local bodies do not even possess control over the police powers, which are retained in the hands of the central government. Likewise the means of communication, even the telephone system, are controlled by the central regime.

With central powers of this kind, it may be understood that when a Tokyo-appointed governor is told to see that an election is "successful," and is provided with adequate funds, he can usually carry out his instructions. The whole electorate, of course, cannot be bribed or intimidated but the number that can be is sufficient to make up the balance of power, and swing control to whichever side is required.

The more one is in contact with Japanese politics, the more fully one is impressed that one is simply watching a puppet-play in which the wires are being pulled by persons behind the screen. There is not today, however, the cohesion of the wire-pullers which marked the days of the Genro. The Army and Navy power goes on undiminished, under the supreme command of the Emperor, and able to make or break any Cabinet, But the controllers of civil power are not military men, The President of the Privy Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and the other "minor Genro," carry on cautiously but influentially, the Privy Council makes its recommendations on State policy, and as regards the Diet the House of Peers can always be depended upon to be as bureaucratic and reactionary as the heart desires. But there is no longer the all-powerful dictatorship of the Genro.

Japanese Fascism

It is this situation which has made possible, in recent years, the phenomenon known as Japanese Fascism. In part, of course, Fascism in Japan springs from the same sources as in other countries—the resentment of the privileged classes, supported by the exuberance of patriotic thugs, at the increasing self-assertion of the working class and the growth of social revolutionary movements associated with internationalism. But there is also in Japan, the element of young militarists, who look back with nostaligia to the good old days when civil power was not held by means of a balance of different powers, but was directly exercised by a feudal military clique.

Today, indeed, the Army and Navy can act independently, and dominate the civil power as regards military and foreign affairs, but they lack direct control over civil policy. Further, there are the various agreements, such as armament limitation, which the Japanese government (including both military and civil representatives) has entered into with foreign governments, to which the young chauvinists bitterly object as encroaching upon Japan's sovereignty, and for which they hold the civilians responsible. The lower House, its Party politicians, and indeed the whole conception of representative government, are anathema to the young reactionaries.

There is no evidence, however, that these insurgents possess the mature and sober judgment, and the statesmanship, necessary for the exercise of a dictatorship, and it would appear that they have very little conception of the grave economic situation of Japan today, and the impossibility of her living on her own resources.

Imperial House Not Involved

The Imperial House, of course, is not involved in all this. No Japanese Fascist would venture a word in derogation of the Emperor, who stands as the symbol of sovereignty and ultimate power, and whose powers indeed it is the aim of all bureaucrats to exercise. The Imperial House stands, a law unto itself, above and beyond the Constitution and the Diet. It is to the Emperor, not to the Diet, that the ministers are responsible, and no elective body can lay hands on the funds for the Imperial Household.

The future of Japanese politics is shrouded in doubt. Whether the decline of the Genro, and the subsequent division of their great powers among various bodies, will in course of time give increasing influence to a House of Representatives founded upon manhood suffrage, in which genuine parties and sincere statesmen will gain greater control, remains to be seen. There is, however, no evidence that the independence of the military is likely to decline, and real parliamentary government in Japan means both the end of military dominance and drastic alterations in the Japanese Constitution, alterations which can legally only be initiated by Imperial Order,

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Outer Mongolia, Chinghai (Kokonor) and Tibet

BY C. Y. W. MENG 孟長泳

OUTER Mongolia, Chinghai (Kokonor) and Tibet are three of China's frontier districts. In the Manchu regime, due to the poor means of communication, there was practically no contact between the frontier people and the people in other parts of China. Due to the political situation within China proper, the central government was unable to pay any attention or look after the welfare of frontier peoples—whether they declared their independence or were "stolen" or encroached upon by third parties. Apparently the same condition still exists!

Outer Mongolia

For many years, Outer Mongolia has been under the actual control of the Soviets. Is this not also another "lost territory?" When a commercial plane belonging to the Eurasia Aviation Corporation was shot down by the people in Outer Mongolia, the German government instead of lodging protests with the Chinese Government, lodged protests with the Soviet government, meaning by this is that Outer Mongolia is no longer Chinese territory. Truly, for many years, we have been unable to get into touch with the people in Outer Mongolia and we have heard very little from them. Until recently, we have heard an urgent telegram being despatched by the Outer Mongolian chief to the Nanking authorities. This telegram was sent by the Chief-Supervisor (總管) of the Mongolian people to the Mongolian Office at Nanking with a request that the latter would forward the same telegram to the National Government for attention. The telegram tells of the terrible sufferings of the people of Outer Mongolia at the hands of the Soviets and also about 2,000 people having "now escaped from Outer Monglia to other parts of Mongolia." These refugees are now asking the Government to give them every possible assistance. The following is a brief and rough translation of the telegram:—

"Taking advantage of my trip of inspection through the pastural fields I (meaning the chief supervisor) went to Kong Yen (崗崖) where the people who fled from Outer Mongolia are now staying, partly to console them and partly to tell them that the Executive Yuan and the Committee of the Tibetan and Monglian Affairs and the Provincial Government of Charhar (察哈爾) have all devised ways to help them. They all expressed their hearty gratitude and appointed four delegates to come to make a report to me on the sufferings of the people in Outer Monglia at the hands of the Soviets."

The telegram then went on to reiterate what was said by the four delegates, a brief summary of which is as follows:—

"In the 10th year of the Republic, when Outer Mongolia declared its independence, pressure was being brought to bear upon the chief supervisor of Kong Yen to join the rebels and he did join. But there were other people in Kong Yen who were unwilling to join the rebels and they who together with 48 other people and 2,000 horses escaped to other places. Many more people desired to escape but were stopped by the Russian troops. The Russian authorities then despatched troops to the South of Kong Yen, dividing the place into thirteen districts. Rigid search was exercised to prevent any people from making any escape. All properties and horses belonging to the office of Kong Yen were all confiscated by the Russian authorities. Most of the live stock belonging to the people was confiscated.

"By that time, the Mongolians were divided into two parties among themselves, the more conservative one being known as the Right Party; and the other, a new one, known as the Left Party. They quarrelled bitterly. The Russian authorities ordered that their dispute should be settled by a conference to be held in Barga, the capital city of Outer Mongolia, which resulted in a victory of the Left Party. When the Left Party came into power, the sufferings of the people were increased and were made more harsh than ever before. A compulsory military conscription law was enforced whereby every youth between 18 and 45 years of age should take up rigid military training. Heavy taxes were levied. People undergoing military training were ordered to be transferred from place to place. No people could live peacefully.

"When the Japanese invaded Manchuria, a large part of the Russian troops were sent to the Manchurian border. Out of the 13 districts near the south of Kong Yen, 12 were ordered to be abolished. Taking advantage of the situation, the people in Outer Mongolia made their escape and freed themselves from the Russian control."

The four delegates made a strong appeal that as at present there are only about 20 or 30 Russian soldiers in the south of Kong Yen, the Mongolians deem it as the best chance to "take back Kong Yen," adding that if this could not be done, steps should be taken to "drag the people and their families out of fire and water (meaning their sufferings)." The four delegates added that recently about 300 people together with their families have escaped to Kong Yen and as winter is approaching, they asked for help from the Central Government.

In conclusion, the chief supervisor stated that all people who have succeeded in escaping from Outer Mongolia to Kong Yen are now hoping very much that they could be saved, and as to those who are still in Outer Mongolia, "nobody knows their fate." "The people there could not see their parents; brothers and wives are separated," added the chief supervisor. "As Kong Yen is our territory, it should be taken back; if this could not be done, we should, take steps to relieve the sufferings of the people there," concluded the chief supervisor.

"Kong Yen" lies to the North of Charhar. Formerly, it came under the jurisdiction of Charhar. But when independence was declared, it was incorporated into Outer Mongolia. It is more popularly known as Teh-Li-Kong-Yen (達里岡崖).

The writer has been informed that more people in Outer Mongolia have succeeded in escaping into other parts of Mongolia. The Central Government has already appointed commissioners to go to Kong Yen to take up the matter with the provincial authorities of Charhar.

Chinghai (Kokonor)

Chinghai is another Chinese frontier district of which we have heard very little. Recently, it is reported that the National Government has appointed a commissioner to go to Chinghai to participate in the ceremony of "worship of Seas" (祭海). Questioned as to what is meant by this ceremony, one spokesman in the Committee of Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs made the following explanation:

The ceremony is held in the Temple of Worship of Seas (祭海寺) in the city of Char-Han-Chen 察汗城 near the sea shore of Chinghai. In the Manchu regime, the ceremony was held for the purpose of praying for long life for the then living emperor. Since the establishment of the Republic, the same ceremony was held for the purpose of praying for long life for the Republic. In August of every year, all chiefs of different tribes assembled in the temple to participate in the ceremony in order "to show their allegiance to the government;" and the central government usually sent one commissioner to go to Chinghai bringing along with him many forms of "gifts" in order "to show the generosity of the government and its desire to console the people there." Since the establishment of the Republic, the central government usually instructed the provincial government of Chinghai to appoint one commissioner to act on the behalf of the central government to officiate at the ceremony. "But this year," continued the same spokesman, "the Executive Yuan has approved the suggestion of the Committee of the Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs to appoint a commissioner by the Central Government to go to Chinghai to participate in the ceremony," and one official of the Committee was appointed and he has already left for Chinghai. Obviously the reason is twofold: In the first place, the Central Government desires to show that the Government is quite mindful of affairs in Chinghai; and secondly, by appointment of an official to proceed to Chinghai, his mission is not only to officiate at the ceremony, but also to investigate present conditions in Chinghai; to make a report to the Central Government; to improve better understanding between the frontier people and the Government; and lastly, to consolidate their confidence in the Government. It is further reported that the commissioner brings along with him many pictures of President Lin Sen, General Chiang Kai-shek, President Wang Ching-wei, etc., together with many other "gifts" and propaganda pamphlets, which will give a better idea to the frontier people of what is going on in this part of China.

The same spokesman who has been in Chinghai and Sikong for many years told the writer that the people in Chinghai are all frugal and industrious. The provincial authorities are taking various steps loward reconstruction. The people there understand quite well the "principle of the Kuomintang and are all loyal to the Central Government." Certainly, out of the three frontier districts in the South-West, Chinghai is China's "best boy."

Tibet

In ancient times, Tibet was known as Si-Hsiung (西戎) or Si-Kiang (西羌); In the Soong Dynasty, as Tu-Van (吐蕃); and in the Yuan Dynasty as Si-Van (西蕃). From time immemorial Tibet had been a tributary state of China.

But the actual exercise of the territorial and administrative control over Tibet by the Chinese began only after the strenuous efforts made by the Manchu emperors to incorporate Tibet into the empire.

It is to be recalled that after conquering Charhar by the first emperor of the Manchu regime, the then living Lama in Tibet despatched a representative to come to Peking (now Peiping) to declare his allegiance to the Manchu emperor. History tells us how an eleborate reception was given to the Tibetan Lama. The first emperor ordered a temple to be built in the west of the old capital which has hence been known as Si-Sin-Temple (實勝寺) or "True Victorous Temple," and a bell weighing more than 1,000 catties was ordered to be made and put into the temple; how the first emperor gathered together with the Lama and other high dignitaries to worship Heaven, and how the imperial edicts were issued to the Lama to memorize the Buddhist classics, praying for blessing to the people, etc.

History further tells us about the expedition launched by the Emperor Kong-si against Tibet; how Emperors Yung-Ching and Chien Lung actually subdued Tibet, etc. Space does not permit us to tell the story in full, but much can be said that the actual exercise of the territorial and administrative control by the Chinese authorities over Tibet, and its incorporation into China proper, was not begun until the beginning of the Manchu regime, though Tibet had been a tributary state to China from time immemorial. Emperor Kong-si started the campaign of conquest while Emperor Chien Lung completed it. That the Manchu emperors had exerted more efforts to subdue Tibet is not without reason. The Manchu emperors knew that the Tibetan religion was observed by the Mongolian and other tributary states, and that if the Manchu emporers could win over the favor of the Tibetan leaders, all other tributary states would follow, and that there would be no more trouble in the frontiers. The Manchu emperors had apparently succeeded in utilizing the religion in their conquest of Tibet and incorporation into China proper.

Tibet Rebels!

But the recent action taken by the Dalai Lama in invading Si-Kong and Chinghai and in fighting against the Szechuen troops is tantamount to a revolt against the Central Government.

In a joint telegram from the educational association, chambers of commerce, heads of different tribes, and many other associations, in Chinghai to the Central Government, they asked for government assistance in fighting against the Tibetan troops. The telegram pointed out that during the present national crisis the Chinghai authorities have taken every possible conciliatory steps to avoid any outbreak of warfare between Tibet and Chinghai but that such action only tended to encourage the Tibetans to be more aggressive. They have now invaded Yu-Shu (玉樹), an important strategical place lying on the border between Tibet and Chinghai. For self-defence, the provincial authorities of Chinghai were forced to put up a resistance. Since the outbreak of warfare, many of the lost territories had been taken back from the hands of the Tibetan troops, the telegram claimed. "But the situation is still pregnant with danger," continued the telegram, "for those who instigated the revolt are still actively at work." "It is due to the negligence of the part of the authorities that the north-eastern territory (Manchuria) was lost. Should we also neglect the welfare of the South-West, the same would also be lost," pointed out the telegram. The telegram concluded by pleading for money and ammunition from the Central Government to enable them to defend Chinghai.

According to a *Rengo* report dated September 12 from Tokyo, the Tibetan troops under the direction of the British and with British assistance intend to invade Chinghai, and Yunnan, the idea being to occupy Sikong to form a "Greater Tibet." The same report continued that "as the Nanking authorities are now unable to do anything, this idea of a 'Greater Tibet' would soon be realized."

Another report has it that the personal delegate of the Dalai Lama in Peiping has sent an urgent telegram to the Central Government demanding that the Panchen Lama should not be allowed to go to Chinghai, at the same time alleging that the present trouble between Tibet and Sikong is all due to the intrigue of the Panchen Lama, and that his going to Chinghai would certainly make the situation much harder of settlement.

In view of the complicated condition, it is generally believed that the trouble on the South-West frontier border is quite far from settlement and is likely to give China more troubles.

Shanghai, Nanking, September 19, 1932.

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62-169

Revelations in Shameen Gambling Scandal

(From the Review's Canton Correspondent)

MORE sensational revelations concerning the Shameen cabaret and gambling establishment scandal have been made by Kong Suk-wing, who headed the Chinese syndicate which sought to apply to the French authorities for permission to open this resort in Shameen, subsequently resulting in their sustaining losses amounting to well over $90,000, in an application to the Canton Civil Court for the arrest of the Russian chemist, I. Neiman and Mrs. Neiman, and also charging a foreign Police officer attached to the French. Police Force in Shameen with defrauding the Chinese syndicate.

Following this application a general warrant of arrest was issued for the apprehension of Mr. Neiman, who was last seen in Hongkong. The French Concession Police officer, concerning whom Kong Suk-wing has made the most serious charges in his petition, which is an interesting and highly sensational document, extracts from which are printed further on in this article, has been made a joint defendant in the Chinese court. A warrant has been applied for. As the establishment of this gambling resort, made by foreign and Chinese residents of Canton despite the severe condemnation of the Chinese Government, presents an interesting problem concerning the jurisdiction privileges, which foreigners usually enjoyed in their settlements and concessions in the big cities in China it is the writer's aim to present the Chinese syndicate's viewpoint, as it is contained in their application to the Chinese Civil Court for the arrest of the foreigners, in an unbiased manner. Although it is the consensus of opinion here that the public has no sympathy whatsoever for Chinese merchants who sought the protection of foreigners to run gambling houses and cabarets despite the order of their own authorities and despite the clear knowledge that such places often did more harm in disgracing the name of the Chinese than the alleged promotion of Sino-foreign relationship, as this establishment was formed with the hope to cater for the foreign and Chinese patrons alike, the case deserves our attention, because the Chinese syndicate has made application for a full hearing of the detained foreign lady, Mrs. Neiman, and of any other foreigners if they can be apprehended. Similar applications by the same syndicate have been sent to the office of Chu Chao-hsin, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in the five South-western Provinces, and the Kwangtung Municipal Government.

Chinese Syndicate Wants Compensation

In his application Kong Suk-wing suggests that the Chinese Government should arrest Neiman and the Police officer attached to the French Concession demanding their punishment and compensation to the Chinese syndicate, which had paid them $40,000 in Hongkong bank notes and in addition a bigger sum had been fruitlessly spent in the reconstruction of No. 19 in the French Concession and in furnishing the place, which was raided on the eve of its formal opening.

Meanwhile the Procurator, sitting as a committing magistrate, has announced that he has investigated and is satisfied that Mrs. I. Neiman had taken part in the fraud and it is therefore the wish of the Chinese Civil Court to hold a trial of her. The Chinese authorities demand a heavy amount for bail of this Russian pending the apprehension of the other foreigners involved and so far all efforts for her release have proved unsuccessful. In her statement to the Police Mrs. Neiman confessed to the effect that when Kong Suk-wing and his associates paid $40,000 to her husband and the Police officer in the Concession the Chinese investors made the payment with the belief that this sum would reach the French Consul, in return for a licence to run a social club for foreign and Chinese residents. The establishment is literally within a stone's throw from the Chinese City, where both roulette, fantan and cabaret dancing businesses have long been strictly prohibited.

In another important phrase of her statement Mrs. Neiman admitted that in one of the conferences between her husband, the Police officer and the Chinese syndicate members held at the French Police Station Mr. Neiman handed her $17,000, which she in turn handed over the Police officer. The latter had attended at other conferences in Chinese hotels with Mr. Neiman, the Chinese syndicate promotors and one other foreigner whose name has so far not been disclosed.

In his application to the various government departments and the Civil Court, Kang Suk-wing petitions that the Government should make an earnest endeavor to apprehend the foreigners concerned in defrauding the Chinese investors into the belief that this gambling resort could be opened with due influence and full consent from the French authorities. The Lei Faat syndicate requests that the foreigners when detained will be put on a trial in the Chinese Court, where the petitioners may expect justice.

In his petition Kong Suk-wing further states:—"The idea of opening these gambling and cabaret resorts was first conceived in July this year when I made the acquaintance of the Russian Police officer (name given) in the French Concession Force, and Neiman, the Russian chemist, through the introduction of my friends, Messrs. Wong Yin-kan, Au Shiu-kan and Au Chi-kok. No. 19 in the French Concession was chosen as the place for this gambling venture and the name of Lei Faat was selected for the syndicate running the concern. The investors accepted the persuasion of the police officer and Neiman because they were impressed by the way in which similar cabaret and gambling concerns were opened to the public in French administered territories in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow concessions and in the French controlled Annam.

"The two Russians promised the Lei Faat investors that on the day of the opening of the gambling resort the French authorities would issue the proper residental permit to the owners of the concerns and special passes to the patrons coming nightly from the Chinese City to Shameen. These passes would authorise the users to enter Shameen at any hour of the night. To the Chinese investors' demand for a direct interview with the French Consul the Russians answered that Shameen being only a concession the consular authorities had taken great care not to break the laws of their own government which might result in the latter's intervention. For this reason the French Consul would certainly decline the Chinese application for an official licence.

Gambling Houses in French Territory

"The latter further stressed the fact that similar steps were followed when applications were sought for gambling house licenses in Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin, when in none of those cases the Consuls had direct negotiations with the promotors of those gambling houses. The Russians pointed out that in most cases the Police commissioners always undertook the job of negotiation. The Lei Faat promotors were further informed of the existence of twenty gambling establishments in French administered territories in the French dominion, from which the French derived an annual revenue running into 30,000,000 Francs.

"With this impression in mind the Lei Faat investors selected the building in No. 19, which was located at the back of the French Consulate Office, opposite the French barracks and to the left of the residence occupied by French consular officials. The selection of this locality proves also that the Lei Faat organisers believed all the time up to the raid that the French authorities' permission had been secured. The Russians who conducted the negotiations with the Lei Faat investors assumed that they represented the French consul and the Chinese shareholders had so far paid to these Russians $51,000 in Hongkong currency from whom two receipts in English and one English contract detailing the transaction were obtained.

"The sum above mentioned was handed to the French Police officer, for the first time at the Eastern Hotel on the Bund near Shameen and for the second and third times at the New Asia Hotel and on all these occasions the Police officer and Neiman were present. The former declined to place his signatures on the receipt alleging that he was a member of the French Police force and consequently he must make the refusal. The receipts were signed by Neiman and the prosecutors are in a position to produce foreign and Chinese witnesses to prove that the Police officer was present in those transactions."

"In her statement to the Police Mrs. Neiman confessed to a visit made to the French police officer's residence on August 8 in the evening and she made the serious allegation that part of the $40,000 had been admitted by

the police officer. She and her husband then made a hurried exit from Canton on August 11, visiting Macao and Hongkong and they went to the French convent in Hongkong on one occasion to see their children. In Hongkong she was deserted by her husband and subsequently she returned to Canton.

"The prosecutors submit that in view of the testimony of Mrs. Neiman that the French Police officer had received the money of the Lei Faat company it could not be said that this gambling concern was opened without the official consent in Shameen."

The application concludes by requesting the Chinese Civil Court to make a full investigation concerning the police officer involved in the negotiation proceedings and to ask the French consular authorities to assume responsibility for the damages suffered by the Lei Faat investors.

That this gambling scandal in Shameen has attracted the attention of the Government is evidenced by a press statement issued by Chu Chao-hsin, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs of the five south-western Provinces, in which Chu Chao-hsin said that although the office of foreign affairs in the south-western provinces will not proceed to any direct investigation into this case the latter will receive full attention from the right quarters, the district Civil Court and the Municipal Government in Canton. The case of Mrs. Neiman will come out in a full court trial which will be conducted in accordance with the Chinese civil law while other foreign defendants when arrested will be dealt with in similar manner in the Chinese Court here. The authorities in the Chinese Civil Court will have in mind the damages suffered by the Lei Faat investors, which does not mean that the Government wishes to protect gambling promotors.

"Chinese justice will punish all offenders of the Law whether the offender be a Chinese or a foreign resident in China. Chinese merchants who traded in Shameen must be considered not guilty, but if their products were seized and confiscated the Chinese merchants must be protected by their Government officials and the merchants must be compensated. Furthermore, the Chinese merchants' goods have been confiscated. As an official in the Foreign Office, I will do my best to investigate this gambling scandal and it is my avowed object not to allow foreigners to defraud the Chinese subjects" concludes Chu Chao-hsin.

Canton, September 18, 1932.

The Sad Feelings of the Chinese People

To the Editor, *The China Weekly Review*:—

The misfortune of China did not start on September 18 last, but originated some 10 years before, thorough the corruption of the Tsing Dynasty and the greediness of the militarists. There are many internal and external causes for China's present dangerous situation. None of China's misfortunes has, however, caused China to perish; China has remained an independent nation up to the present time due to the jealousy of the foreign imperialistic Powers who carefully have watched each other. However, the September 18 incident has changed matters, as the Japanese have discovered that the attitude of all the Powers is exactly the same as that of the cat which mournfully laments over the rat. Thus, the Japanese while the other nations were watching each other, took immediate action on their own account. Japan, by forcefully occupying Manchuria and Mongolia, has among other objects the terrifying of all the powerful foreign Powers on the Pacific. These Powers, of course, can not sit down and let things drift but their aim mostly is to steal something from China while this disturbed condition continues. They are not particularly interested in China's future, but they pretend to oppose Japan's unlawful occupation of China's territories. China herself should take action. Public bodies in China have tried every means to demand that the National Government should resist Japan's inhuman actions. Alas! All efforts of our people to urge the Nanking Government to declare war upon Japan have failed.

Under such circumstances, should we still depend upon the Nanking Government, then all hopes for our Nation in future would be disappointed.

KINNEAR CHEN (陳基業)

Shanghai, September 17, 1932.

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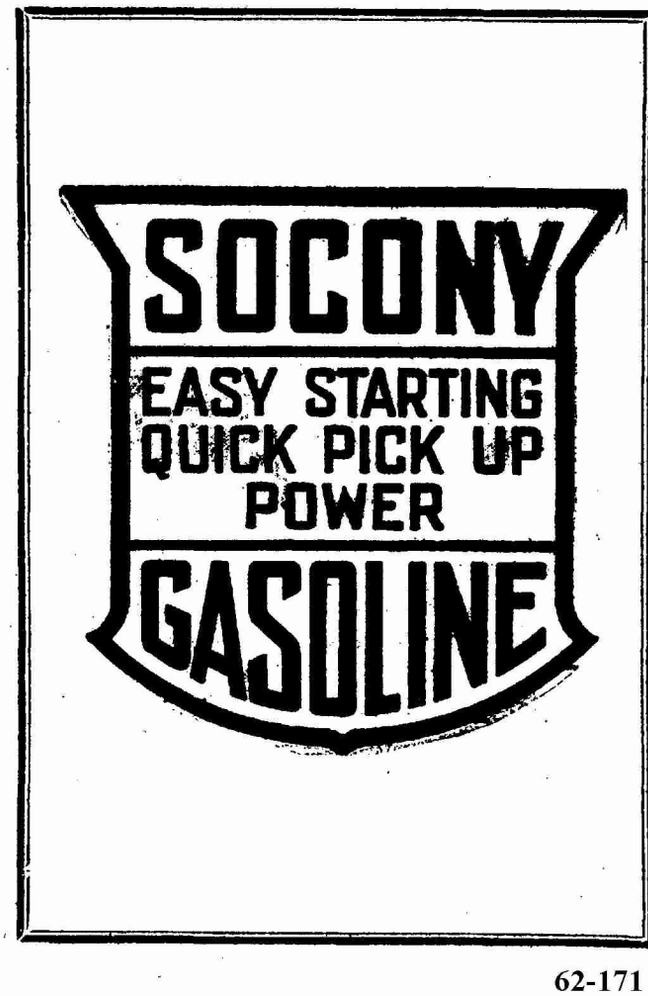

The Japanese Smoke Screen

BY SHEN HSUE-CHUAN (沈學傳)

JOHN Hay's Open Door Policy is a peaceful international policy in China. The Chinese are peace-loving people and have a big purchasing power. If any country has no ambition of political and territorial acquisitions in China, she may, based on the Open Door Policy, attain her purpose of a prosperous commerce. Though the whole world including Japan has accepted and promised to respect the Open Door Policy, yet, since the Russo-Japanese War, Japan has done everything contrary to the Open Door Policy not only in Manchuria and Mongolia, but in China proper, as well. Henceforth, Japan has claimed the so-called Asiatic Monroe Doctrine in Asia. Japan says that the idea of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for Asia sprang from the late American President Roosevelt, as Viscount Kentaro Kaneko recently stated in *Contemporary Japan*. Under the screen of a plausible Asiatic Monroe Doctrine Japan's aim is to bring forth a Japanese Asiatic continental empire. But in order to escape the world's blame Japan has at last employed a base means to impute the assertion of Japan's Asiatic Monroe Doctrine to a dead man, the late American President Roosevelt. Moreover, at present the United States is Japan's strongest opponent and by such a trick Japan thinks that it may avoid the censure of the United States and might somewhat enhance cordial friendship and goodwill between Japan and the United States.

The American Monroe Doctrine

Even suppose that President Roosevelt recommended Japan to adopt an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, he did not contemplate the settled policy of organized browbeating, bullying and international outrage that has been the chief manifestation of the Doctrine in China. As for that, the original Monroe Doctrine was, for three quarters of a century regarded by the Latin-American peoples as a protective shield and was declared to defend the American continent against the invasion of Europe and to guarantee the sovereignties and territories of Central and South America. The seventy years of applied Monroe Doctrine of the United States that preceded 1900 would be a very insecure basis on which to predict the Spanish-American War, or the invasion of Cuba or the sending of marines to Nicaragua; but the twenty-five years of Japan's Monroe Doctrine in Asia can only be interpreted in terms of repeated assault and battery. The Spanish-American War, the invasion of Cuba and the sending of marines to Nicaragua were excrescences on the real Monroe Doctrine. The seizure of Shantung, the Twenty-one Demands, the Tsinan Incident, the remarkably inexplicable, extraordinarily unexpected, but—from the Japanese point of view—amazing opportune death of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Mukden outbreak of a year ago, the Shanghai outrage—these things, and minor incidents like them, are not excrescences on the Japanese Monroe Doctrine, but apparently are parts and parcel of it, essential to its natural, inevitable and fundamental expression. Japan's Monroe Doctrine from the first was an instrument of aggression: protection of Korea passed to annexation; 1914, 1915, 1928, 1931, and 1932 have followed in the direct line of succession. Now Japan has begun to build the Japanese Asiatic Empire by the annexation of Korea and the present occupation of Manchuria. As K. K. Kawakami, a writer on Japanese politics who is now resident in Washington, explained, in his recently written book entitled "Japan Speaks on Sino-Japanese Crisis," "Japanese expansion in Manchuria is far more defensible than American expansion in the Caribbean and in Central America" and "the American case in Columbia is to the point in its analogy to the Japanese case in Manchuria."

After the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese statesman Okuma energetically claimed the immediate enforcement of Japan's Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. During the World War in 1914 Japan, taking advantage of its full swing proclaimed the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine to replace the Open Door Policy. By the declaration of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine Japan's aim was to drive out the influence of other powers from China and to accomplish her annexing purpose. In 1915 the Twenty-one Demands was the first step of Japan's Monroe Doctrine. When the United States participated in the World War in 1917, Japan sent Ishii to United States and contracted the so-called Lansing-Ishii Agreement. When Ishii was in the United States, he often talked about the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine but Lansing did not agree to that doctrine. Later on, Lansing consented that Japan might have the special interest of propinquity in China. But Japan interpreted it as political special interest and by which Japan claimed that the United States permitted her to have the Monroe Doctrine for Asia. While at the Washington Conference the legal guaranty of the Open Door Policy was re-asserted and at the same time the Lansing-Ishii Agreement was also annulled, Japan's burning ambition received a heavy blow. Since the outbreak of the Sept. 18 Incident the ambition of Japan's Asiatic Monroe Doctrine has been alive. The Japanese propagandists have done their best to claim that doctrine. In reality, Japan's Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, in other words, means turning "Asia for Asiatics" into "Asia for Japan."

Mutual Existence and Prosperity vs. Positive Aggression

The above-mentioned Japan's Asiatic Monroe Doctrine chiefly deals with Europe and America, while to China Japan has proposed the high-sounding theory of mutual existence and prosperity. Under the mask of mutual existence and prosperity between China and Japan, Japan has pushed a positively aggressive policy toward China. History tells us that the more vigorously Japan clamors for Sino-Japanese mutual existence and prosperity, the more positively Japan invades China and the more China suffers. Tanaka, the late Japanese Prime Minister, was the strongest one of them. He took the term of mutual existence and prosperity as the charm for invading China. Thus, though China wishes to welcome that term, yet she finally finds difficulty in accepting the way Japan proposes carrying it out. Whenever China hears the term "Sino-Japaese mutual existence and prosperity," she considers it an ominous term. If Japan has a mind to carry out the real idea of mutual existence and prosperity, Japan should at least have some respect for the existence and prosperity of China besides trying to achieve her own. If Japan has considered her aggression upon China the necessary means to secure her own existence and prosperity, it is better to leave China to try her own individually. Otherwise, the day when Japan fulfills her country's desire of "existence and prosperity" that will be the time China will be ruined. Racially, historically, geographically, politically, economically, and culturally China and Japan should embrace the ism of mutual existence and prosperity. But, strongly as Japan clamors it, it has never been carried out in its real sense. Japan should take the responsibility of its failure. Certainly, Japan has traditionally played such tricks to deceive China and employed it as an instrument to cover her aggressive policy. It, perhaps, seems that Japan has interpreted the ism of mutual existence and prosperity as giving her the the privilege of taking China under her wing. Therefore, the more Japan talks of Sino-Japanese mutual existence and prosperity, the farther its real meaning goes. Now, in order to carry out the authentic spirit of this ism Japan should first give up her aggressive policy upon China and re-adopt a mutually helpful economic development and put an end of all the former hostility between these two countries.

Sino-Japanese Complications

The fundamental cause of the hostility between China and Japan is due to the Japanese traditional Continental Policy. Since Toyotami Hideyoshi, Japan has had a continued continental ambition which has been implanted deep in the minds of all the Japanese people. In the time of Emperor Meiji the Continental ambition was developed more urgently and vehemently. In the twenty-seventh year of Emperor Meiji, Mutsu Munemissu, the late Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, plotted and challenged the first Sino-Japanese War. After that war Japan took away Formosa Island and occupied the Liaotung peninsula. Though Liaotung peninsula, was afterwards returned to China by orders from Germany, France, and Russia, yet Japan's aggressive ambition was not frustrated a bit by this interference. After the Russo-Japanese War Japan took all the vested rights and interests in South Manchuria. Then if Japan had a real mind to carry out the ism of Sino-Japanese mutual existence and prosperity, Japan might be allowed to develop this Virgin Land with China for the world. But the traditional Continental Policy of Japan has been so deep-seated that Japan still perversely adopts an aggressive policy in order to swallow Manchuria and even China for herself. Thus, disregarding the treaties, Japan, on the one hand, has done everything beyond the restriction of the treaties such as the stationing of an army and the establishment of police boxes, etc., and, on the other, Japan has permitted no other nation, not even China to have any hand in the development of Manchuria such as railway and investment problems, etc.

Since the World War this aggressive policy has become disgusting to the whole world. Japan's aggressive

ambition has also received its proper blow and has not been so positive. Last year, while the world was perplexed with the economic panic and China groaned under the serious natural and man-made calamities, Japan, taking advantage of this critical time, made out many incidents to challenge China and the world as well, such as Railway complications, the Wanpaoshan affair, Korean massacre, and Nakamura case. At last, she unprovokingly and premeditatedly mobilized her troops on the night of last Sept. 18 and occupied the whole of Manchuria. Furthermore, on last March 9 she created a puppet "Manchukuo," which she has since formally recognized. This decision is Japan's long-cherished Manchurian policy. Her recent preparations for war are easily understood. They have chiefly taken the form of unifying the railway control of Manchuria with the Korean railways. For six decades Japan has been bent on annexing Manchuria, but she has been clever enough to evade the responsibility of being criticized for breaking up China. Therefore by adopting Manchuria as an "orphan child" she was given some excuse for this extroadinary action. Her tricks, no matter how skilfully played, cannot hide the glaring facts.

The Sino-Japanese complications are chiefly due to the Japanese aggressive policy. Therefore, now, in order to solve the thorny Sino-Japanese problem the first thing to be done is to put an end to the Japanese aggressive policy, which should be eradicated as follows:

1. Japan should evacuate all her troops and policemen stationed in Manchuria.
2. Japan should give up her territorial ambition and return to China all the leased lands on expiration, or at least the South Manchuria Railway should be operated for economic purposes, not political.
3. The infamous Twenty-one Demands should be declared invalid by the Japanese Government. Or, the matter may be referred to the League Court for a settlement.
4. China to be allowed to cooperate with Japan to exploit the Manchurian resources, while all the Japanese restrictions upon economic development should be ended, such as the prohibition of building parallel lines, etc.
5. The Japanese immigrants should be under Chinese law.
6. The Koreans in Manchuria should be under the control of Chinese law and should have the freedom of taking on Chinese nationality.

The foregoing few points are the imperative and underlying factors for the settlement of the Sino-Japanese problem. Unless the Japanese military expansion in Manchuria and the exclusive ambition in Manchurian interests are checked hereafter the Sino-Japanese complications can never be solved. Or, at least, Japan should stop her present military activity in Manchuria. Moreover, Japan has been a member of the League and a signatory to the Nine Powers Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, which she has declared to respect. But, now, Japan has violated them all. The world peace and order is broken and the welfare of human beings is endangered by Japan. It is better for Japan now to withdraw her troops and restore Manchuria to China in order to avoid an outbreak of the next world war which is impending and looms high upon the horizon of the Far East.

Peiping, September 19, 1932.

Dr. Kuangson Young Lectures at Leeds, England

Dr. Kuangson Young, Chinese Consul-General in London, lecturing on "The New China—Her Place in International Affairs," in Leeds, England, August 10, remarked that it had been widely admitted that in spite of the more or less self-appointed nature of the present Chinese Government, it had been the most stable and the best of all the Governments China had had during the last century. Referring to the question of Manchuria Dr. Young said the fundamental question was: Was Manchuria Chinese or Japanese? If Chinese, it did not matter what argument Japan advanced, she had no right to be there. It was hoped that the report being prepared by the League of Nations Commission, headed by Lord Lytton, would solve the problem at issue, but so far as China and the Chinese were concerned, they were growing sceptical, for while the report was being prepared, and while resolutions were being passed through Geneva, Japanese soldiers kept on marching until, at the present moment, the whole of Manchuria was in the hands of Japanese troops.

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Awaiting the Verdict

BY PAUL K. WHANG (汪仲芳)

WHILE the Lytton Report is on its way to Geneva, speculation is rife as to its possible verdict. The anxiety of the people is aroused to the highest pitch, and the air of the world is heavily charged with fears and hopes. Hopes have been entertained by many who believe that a Special Commission of Enquiry, composed of eminent and able men of five neutral Powers and spending half a year in studying facts and investigating conditions on the spot, can not leave its task without hitting upon a satisfactory solution leading out of the present impasse. Fears have been also expressed by others who deplore that the intransigeant attitude on the part of the Japanese government precludes any chance of working out an equitable formula acceptable to both parties concerned.

To the Japanese the Report is immaterial, because they have long mapped out their course to pursue. They have reitereated that they will do what their ambition dictates them to do irrespective of the international obligations and criticisms. They deem that "Asia for Asiatics," and are prepared to bid farewell to Geneva if anything turns out unfavorable to their cause. Therefore their position is as clear as the open day, and the world can not misunderstand it. The League's resolutions could not check their aggressions in the past, and so the Commission's Report can not be expected to alter their premeditated plans in future.

But this is not the case with China. Right after the Japanese coup in Mukden on September 18, last year, China appealed to Geneva, and has since placed implicit confidence on the League of Nations. In spite of its delay in seeking a solution and its apparent inability or unwillingness to check Japan's aggressiveness, her faith in it has not suffered a change. Perhaps her helplessness has precluded her to seek any other means of solution. Being a weak country, she is patient and modest enough not to talk about the withdrawal from the League, because her intimidation to the world can not serve its intended purpose anyway. She has not even announced, not to say prepared, what she will do if the League fails her.

China's Stand Is Ambiguous

In comparism with Japan's clear stand, China's position is as ambiguous as tragic. Ambiguous, because her indefinite foreign policy has left her ship of state adrift without direction in the tempestuous ocean; tragic, because her fervent appeals to the League prove as ineffective as one's prayer before the idol. Her patience is truly remarkable, and her faithfulness to the League is also exemplary. But patience ceases to be a virtue, when it passes its reasonable limit; and faithfulness will not be lauded when it is not wanted.

China is now anxiously awaiting the publication of the Report, because to her it is seemingly tantamount to a life and death sentence. Premature conjecture upon the text of an unpublished report is a risky enterprise; but warning must be given to those who have entertained high hopes in the Commission's findings. Granting that the Commission is impartial and will tell everything but truth, we are not yet in a position to expect any benefit from its Report. It must be noted that the Commission's function is limited to investigation and recommendation, and that it is up to the League to adopt and enforce the recommendation. Therefore no matter how favorable the Report is to China's cause, it can not do any good to China, if it is pigeonholed by the League.

The League's impotence, which has been clearly shown in the past year, hardly needs any further comment. Its deference to the amour propre of a strong Power has made it disregard the interest of a weak country. As a matter of fact, its promoters never intended that the machinery of peace would be so severely tested as at the present time. Its economic weapon is not supposed to apply to a strong power, because to do that will soon precipitate a war, the very thing it was instituted to avert. Thus justice and right have to be sacrificed in the name of peace.

The League's Impotence

The League probers can not ignore the anomalous status of the League. Though their eyes are wide-open and can see the things in their true light without bias and favoritism, yet they can not put down their true findings on paper as their conscience directs them to do, because they are not free agents. They are the representatives of the League, and therefore have inherited its weakness. Their findings and recommendations must be framed in such a way as to be acceptable to the League. They can not afford to embarrass the League by presenting it a report which will incur the wrath of a strong Power, thereby spelling its breakdown. Therefore their sense of fair play and justice will be tempered with their considerations of the League itself.

Under such conditions, we are safe in saying that we can not expect any miracle from the League probers. In saying so, we have no mind to reflect upon their personal character, but we only deplore that circumstances have likely compelled them to hide the truth in their findings. Thus it is almost inevitable, methinks, that they will recommend direct negotiations as the only possible means of settling Sino-Japanese differences. By so doing, they will save the League from further responsibility and trouble in seeking a formula to settle this long drawn out dispute.

It must be said that Lord Lytton and his colleagues have been very sincere in rendering their good offices to patch up the Sino-Japanese differences. After their returning from their Manchurian tour of investigation, they held various conferences with Chinese officials at Peiping before their departure to Tokyo. What was going on in the conferences was not disclosed, but the Chinese press at that time vaguely alleged to the effect that the Commission advised the Chinese officials the desirability of opening direct negotiations with the Japanese and proposed that as a measure of compromise, the future Chinese appointees to Manchuria should first get the approval of the Japanese government and no Chinese soldiers should henceforth be stationed in Manchuria.

With the understanding of the Chinese officials to its tentative measure of compromise, the Commission then proceeded to Tokyo to interview Japanese officials. But to their great disappointment, Lord Lytton and his colleagues found that the Japanese admitted no compromise in their flat refusal to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria in any form. Thus the League Commission returned to China without achieving any success in paving the way for instituting direct negotiations between the Chinese and the Japanese under its auspices.

Whether this Japanese defiant attitude has in any way affected the members of the Commission in holding their original formula of settlement remains to be seen, but circumstances warrant us to conjecture that the ultimate solution embodied in the Report will not greatly depart from that course, the only course which will free the League from further entanglement with the Manchurian mess.

Will China Negotiate Direct?

Will China be satisfied with this solution? Right after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, the Japanese repeatedly told the League that Sino-Japanese differences could be only settled between the Chinese and Japanese alone. But the Chinese rejected that offer because they realized that they could not expect any equitable settlement from the one who was armed to the teeth. Therefore China repeatedly appealed to the League for its intervention on her behalf. Now Japan's position in Manchuria is much more consolidated than last October and November, and a puppet government has been instituted under the Japanese auspices. Moreover, the Japanese have forestalled any possible action recommended by the League probers by formally recognizing the so-called Manchukuo. Therefore the situation now is much more unfavorable to China than that of nine or ten months ago. After a long patient waiting, will China be willing to open direct negotiations with Japan to settle their differences?

On the other hand, can the League be said as having discharged its responsibility by leaving the disputants to settle their differences in their own way, after it took upon itself the task of finding a solution of the dispute? After one year's delay, during which the situation has been going from bad to worse, the League can not shift its responsibility by handing back the case to the disputants without any equitable solution. If it could only acknowledge its hopeless position at the time when China appealed to it for assistance, the situation would not be as complicated as at present, and China could long decide upon whatever action to take without wasting any valuable time in waiting.

But to heap all the blame upon the League for our sad plight is tantamount to the acting of cutting our nose to spite our face. No matter how hopeless and impotent

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the League proves to be, it is our own fault to place our blind faith in it. Therefore we have cut our sorry figure in the eyes of the world. The sad aspect of the whole situation is that once we have our case placed in the League's care, we have been sitting on the sidelines to wait for its decision without preparing ourselves, either mentally or physically, for any eventualities. Our unpreparedness is partly responsible for the League's hesitancy to take a strong action against the aggressor. Now we are awaiting the verdict of the Commission in the same mood as before without any preparation. We are kept entirely in the dark as to what course the government will pursue in case the Report turns out unfavorable to us. Our anxiety over our fate has been increasing with the date of the publication of the Report drawing near.

Shanghai, September 19, 1932.

First Leprosy Conference Will Convene in Shanghai October 5

The first National Leprosy Conference in China will convene at 10 a.m. on October 5 in the new Henry Lester Institute, Avenue and Hardoon Roads, Shanghai, with an opening address by Dr. Wu Lien-teh, director of the National Quarantine Service, on "The Present Status of the Leprosy Question in China." This will be followed by a paper to be read by Dr. H. W. Wade, director of the Leonard Wood Memorial Fund for the Eradication of Leprosy and chief pathologist at the Curion Leper Colony, Philippine Islands, on "The Organisation of Research in Leprosy." Another paper will be read by W. H. P. Anderson, general secretary of the mission to Lepers (London), on "The Work and Influence of Mission Institutions in Relation to the Existing Leprosy Situation." At the afternoon sessions, which will be presided over by Dr. James L. Maxwell, the following papers will be presented:—"The Early Symptoms of Leprosy with Notes on Differential Diagnosis" by Dr. F. Reiss: "Treatment and Prognosis of Leprosy by Dr. L. F. Heimburger; "Treatment of Leprosy,' by Dr. S. D. Sturton; "Treatment of Leprosy in O. P. D. by Dr. N. D. Fraser; "Pellagra in Leper Settlements" by Dr. R. M. Wilson; and "A Study of Cases of Leprosy as Observed in the Hongkew Clinic for Skin Diseases" by Drs. F. K. Chen and W. Y. Chen.

At 5 p.m., a reception will be given to the delegates by the honorary president of the conference, General Wu Te-chen, mayor, of Greater Shanghai, at the new Wu-si Country Club.

Chinese Tannery Head Addresses Peiping Rotary Club

John Wang, head of the Hua Pei tannery in Peiping, was the speaker at the Peiping Rotary Club meeting on September 15. His remarks were mainly devoted to the tanning industry particularly as they are applied in the tannery whose operations he directs. He said the Hua Pei Tannery was founded 15 years ago with only $5,000 capital, and at first experimented only with sheep's skins, goat's skins, etc., but as the business grew, it began to use hides, and it is now a very extensive concern. Mr. Wang said that in his factory two methods of tanning were used. The one, which was the older method, was known as vegetable tanning, and the new method was mineral tanning. The Hua Pei Tannery was the first to manufacture chrome soles, which were extensively used by Chinese shoe-makers in the manufacture of shoes. The speaker said that the leather tanning industry in China was still in its infancy and had a great future before it. The day would soon come when Chinese shoe-makers would manufacture ready-made shoes instead of making them to order as was the practice now, and Chinese tanneries would manufacture sporting goods, many of which were now imported from abroad.

Canton Exhibits to Be Sent to Chicago Centenary Exposition

The forthcoming Centenary Exposition at Chicago, at which China will be represented, is arousing keen interest in Canton, according to a recent telegram from that city. At the beginning of next year a native goods exhibition is to be held in Canton and from the exhibits then displayed Canton will select goods for inclusion in the China exhibit at Chicago. This exhibition next January will coincide with the opening of the Pearl River bridge connecting Canton with Honam, one of the greatest monuments to Canton's progress since the modernization of the city commenced under the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

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National Central University Library

By Chih-ber Kwei, Ph.D. (桂質柏)
Director, National Central University Library, Nanking

TWICE Nanking has been the first city of China. It was the capital of the country during the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Again, since 1927, it has become the seat of the National Government. One is familiar with the great number and variety of governmental and other institutions in this historical city. However, the National Central University, the highest institution of learning in China, distinguishes itself from all these in that it is an institution designed for the people who seek to know, whereas all others are more or less intended for the people who seek to do. In view of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's well-known dictum, "To know is more difficult than to do," this University bears a most heavy responsibility toward the material and educational reconstruction of the oldest nation in the world.

The National Central University is built upon the foundation of the Government Teachers' College, established in 1914 by Han Kuo-chun, then Civil Governor of Kiangsu Province. After a period of six years' successful operation, the same institution had to be developed into a full-fledged university under the distinguished name, Southeastern Government University. When the National Army reachd Nanking five years gao, the name of the University was changed into the Fourth Sun Yat-sen University, then the Kiangsu University, and finally in May, 1928, the National Central University.

While the University is in a period of re-organization under the able leadership of President Lo Chia-lun, there have been eight colleges in the last few years, namely, (1) College of Science (Nanking), (2) College of Arts (Nanking), (3) College of Law (Nanking), (4) College of Education (Nanking), (5) College of Engineering (Nanking, one part of it is located at Soochow), (6) College of Agriculture (Nanking), (7) College of Medicine (Shanghai), and (8) College of Commerce (Shanghai). The whole faculty exceeds 250 persons, excluding the administrative staff of approximately 300 members. The total number of students averages about two thousand; and the total expenditure of the whole university is met by the taxes designated by the National Government as the special education fund, such as the license tax, land tax, butchers' tax, etc., amounting to nearly one million and five hundred thousand dollars annually.

The University Library has its nucleus in the Government Teachers' College. In those days the conception of an educational institution was quite different from that of the present time. Almost all the students considered their teachers as "walking encyclopedias." They carefully took down all their sayings and studied the textbooks word by word without looking further into other authorities. Under such an atmosphere the early collection of the library was naturally small, and the main function of the library was regarded as a museum of valuable or rare volumes, chiefly for preserving purposes. Books were either arranged by size, or by chronological order, or by different kinds of binding, or by geographical distribution, or by language, or by alphabet, or by subject matter. Generally speaking, the library was in the primeval or first stage of development. It was largely a collection of books and the librarian its faithful custodian. All books were carefully guarded from the casual readers and could be obtained from the shelves after a careful and necessary search.

New Methods of Instruction Introduced

Since the inauguration of the Southeastern Government University on September 5, 1921, under the administration of President Ping-wen Kuo who received his doctorate in education from Columbia University, New York City, new methods of instruction have been introduced. They are based on the deep conception of freedom of though and breadth of view, which are the essentials in the spirit of modern research. No view can be broad, and no thought impartial without studying the works of various authorities. Such changes in university teaching have necessitated an unavoidable emphasis in the use of the library. Its importance began to be conceived not as a luxury but a daily necessity. The books of the library are as much part of the school machinery as are the various pieces of apparatus in the physical or chemical laboratory.

There was a deep conviction in the mind of the university authorities that there should be three steps in renovating the University Library, to wit: (1) by erecting a library building, (2) by enlarging the collection, and (3) by efficient and competent administration.

Any attempt to include all the men and measures that contributed toward the construction of the library physical plant would lead too far afield. Suffice it to say that, inspired with a boundless faith in the future of the University, the authorities acted on the principle that one of the essentials of a university was books, more books, and still more books. But how to house them adequately was a pressing problem. Thereupon they approached Ch'i Hsieh-yuan, Governor of Kiangsu, who consented to contribute $150,000 for covering the cost of the building, with a hope of perpetuating the memory of his father, Ch'i Meng-fang, as well as of indicating his belief in the educational value of the printed page. On January 4, 1932, in the presence of an enthusiastic gathering of many prominent persons, the corner-stone was laid with speeches by several leading personages, including Dr. Paul Monroe of Columbia University, New York City, who was visiting China at that particular moment. In April, 1923, the whole building was brought to completion, taking the shape of the English letter T. It is of concrete and steel skeleton construction, faced with brick and trimmed with lime-stone. It includes a basement and two stories, well equipped with the modern methods of heating and ventilating. There are four main reading rooms, with a capacity of accommodating 350 readers simultaneously. The interior of the building gives an impression of cheerfulness coupled with dignity. Desks, tables and chairs for all public rooms were specially designed and installed for the convenience and comfort of the readers. The book stacks, made by the famous Bethlehem Steel Company, U.S.A., occupy 160 square feet, divided into four tiers with 640 cases of shelves, with a total capacity of 80,000 fascicles and 60,000 English volumes. Along the stacks near the windows are small carrels for the use of professors, advanced students and visiting scholars when granted the privilege of using the stack room. The whole building, covering an area of 6,400 square feet, marks the foundation of library activities, expressing to its patrons its outward permanence and significance.

A Host of Benefactors

It is needless to state that no university work can be done without materials of study and research, namely books and periodicals. It so happened that a few months prior to the occupancy of the new building, the library, being devoid of fire-prevention, was almost entirely destroyed by fire. No effort or opportunity was therefore spared to increase the contents. The response from the Chinese public was both enthusiastic and generous. Some presented their own publications, while others deposited material that the library should have, or would like to possess. Still others put their services at the disposal of the institution. While it is not feasible to set forth in the limited space every gift, the library is grateful to the following gentlemen and companies for providing a special book fund, such as President Li Yuan-hung, Judge Wang Chung-hui, Admiral Tsai Ting-kan, Commercial Press, Fu Hsing Flour Company, Wing On Company, and so forth. As to the gifts of books, there have been a host of benefactors, for example, Dr. Wellington Koo, Honorable Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Dr. Chen Ta, Honorable Chu Chao-hsin, Marshal Wu Pei-fu, Mr. Mo Hsiang-yueh, and so on.

A library is not merely a building, nor a collection of books, but a dynamic organization whose high function is to render a service of enlightenment. During the past decade, the library has been fortunate in securing the services of Messrs. Hung Yu-feng, Pi Chung-shih, and Tai Tse-chien as librarians, and Messrs. Tsui Ping-ts'un, Yang Kongta, and Yuan I-chen as acting librarians. With due respect to these gentlemen for their accomplishments, there still leaves much room for improvement. In the first place the growing importance of the University Library was never so great as now. Secondly, many phases of the library work which have not been considered as important are calling for special attention. For instance, in the past the development of the collection of the library has been more or less a haphazard process. Number of volumes has been

a dominant feature. Conditions today are different, and as time goes on, it may be safely assumed that greater attention will have to be paid to the selection and ordering of library material.

Before closing, it is necessary to point out that the place where the library is located is of more than passing interest. Inasmuch as Nanking is the seat of the National Government, the various departments of the Government call for reference material all the time. Pending the establishment of the national library, no other library in Nanking can discharge the responsibility more adequately than the University Library.

Nanking, September 15, 1932.

Local Chinese Masonic Lodge Installed by Philippine Group

As the result of a request made twenty months ago by the recently created Chinese Amity Masonic Lodge in Shanghai for a charter from the Philippine Grand Lodge, fourteen Philippine Masons comprising an official visiting party from the Philippine Grand Lodge came up from Mainla and in a brilliant ceremony on September 16 installed Amity Lodge. The ceremony was held in the English Masonic Temple. A banquet in the Chinese Banker's Club followed. The Manila Masons were headed by Aurelio Rosario, who arrived in Shanghai September 15. The Manila visitors have in the meantime returned home. Amity Lodge is comprised principally of Chinese although a few Americans are included. The Chinese membership comprises principally prominent business men and officials, among the latter being Dr. C. T. Wang, former Minister of Foreign Affairs who participated in the inaugural ceremonies of Amity Lodge. Prominent among the American members is Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attache. The inauguration of Amity Lodge marks the first occasion on which a Philippine group has authorized a lodge outside of the Philippines.

Japanese Foreign Office "Exonerates" National City Bank

Joseph Grew, U. S. Ambassador at Tokyo reported to the State Department at Washington September 16 that the Japanese Foreign Office had "informed me that it attached no blame or suspicion" to photographing of public and business buildings in Osaka by the National City Bank branch on instructions from its New York headquarters. The *United Press* points out that the Japanese Foreign office statement was not directed to the Japanese public, but was made only through official channels to the U. S. State Department. This indiciated that the Japanese authorities were not taking any steps towards stopping the attacks of the Japanese newspapers in connection with the incident, which are continuing.

Dr. Alfred Sze Proceeds to U. S. A. ---Dr. Yen at Geneva

Dr. Alfred Sze, the former Chinese minister at London, who handled China's case before the League of Nations early this year, has proceeded to the United States on what is believed to be a mission on behalf on the Chinese Government. Dr. Sze departed from America September 15. Dr. W. W. Yen, minister at Washington and Chinese representative on the Council of the League of Nations, was in London last week to discuss the Far Eastern situation with the Chinese minister in London, Quo Tai-chi, who will also represent China at the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Mr. Quo and Dr. Yen have in the meantime proceeded to Geneva.

New Contingent of U. S. Marines Arrives in Shanghai

Upwards of 400 United States marines arrived in Shanghai September 19. Of the new men, part comprise a new battalion. The remaining men are being absorbed into various units already stationed here. The new marines together with the old detachment, bring the strength of the United States forces in Shanghai to almost 2,000 men.

The new recruits are billeted in the same buildings on Bubbling Well Road west of the Race Course which housed the 31st U. S. Infantry during its recent stay here. A new mess hall about a block and a half west from the Race Course accommodates the new men.

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Executive Ordinances Rule India

BY RASH BEHARI BOSE

SINCE the relaunching of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the illegal arrest and imprisonment without trial, of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress last January, the British Government has been ruling the country by executive Ordinances issued by the Viceroy, making the executive officers including the Police Head Constables omnipotent and arming them with full power over the life, person, liberty and property of the Indians; and reducing the judiciary to impotency in almost all political cases. Some of the drastic powers these Ordinances have conferred on the executive officers are noted below in order to convey to readers an idea of the policy of repression employed by the British Government:

1. Ordinance giving power to any officer of the local Government to arrest without warrant any person who is believed to be acting, or likely to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace, and "in so doing he may use any means that may be necessary."
2. Ordinance giving power to the local government to order any person not to remain or reside in any specified area, or to remain or reside in any area, or to conduct himself in such a manner, or abstain from such acts, as may be specified.
3. Ordinance providing for the local government requiring the owner or occupier of any land or building to place it at the disposal of the Government for its use; empowering the imposition of a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area; and giving power to prohibit or limit access to any place or building, controlled by the Government, or railway administration, or a local authority, or any place in the vicinity of any building or place.
4. Ordinance empowering the District Magistrate to order searches of any place and seize anything found there, and to depute a Police officer to attend any meeting, even if it be held in a private place.
5. Ordinance empowering the Government to require any trader to make a return of his stocks, orders and contracts, and give information as to prices, customers and dealings, and to prescribe the conditions under which such commodity may be sold, including the maximum price at which and the persons by whom and to whom such commodity may be sold. *Note.* Congressmen may be deprived thus of food and any other commodity essential for their living.
6. Ordinance empowering the District Magistrate to exclude or eject any passenger from any train or vessel, stop or prohibit the stopping of trains or vessels at any station, and require the owner or person in charge of the Public Utility Service or Vehicles to take or abstain from such service.
7. Ordinance giving power to the local Government to order any landholder, village headman, servant of a local authority or teacher, and private gentleman to assist in the maintenance of Law and Order and protection of property.
8. Ordinance empowering Local Government to confiscate any monies, securities, or credits used or intended to be used for the Congress Movement.
9. Ordinance providing for the imposition of fine or sentence of imprisonment on the guardian or parent of a young person who acts in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace.

The January Ordinances

Besides the above, four more Ordinances were issued on January 4th by the Governor General and Viceroy to deal with the Civil Disobedience Campaign in particular. They are: The Emergency Powers Ordinance, the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the Unlawful Association Ordinance, and the Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance. They provide for arrest and detention without trial of suspected persons, for the control of their movements, for the taking possession of buildings and places, for regulating traffic, for controlling the supplies of commodities of general use, for regulation of means of transport, for control of public utility services, for requiring the assistance of certain persons for making searches, for tampering with public servants, for dissemination of false rumors, for imposition of collective fines, for dissemination of extracts from prescribed documents, and for the creation of Special Courts. One section of the Ordinances makes an addition to the Press Act, under which a Press may be dealt with for bringing into hatred or contempt the Government, or the administration of justice in British India, or any class of the British King's subjects, or for putting any person in fear or causing annoyance to him, or for encouraging or inciting any person to interfere with the administration of the Law or maintenance of Order, or to refuse or defer payment of any dues or to induce a public servant of a local authority to fail in his duty. Other Sections of the Ordinances penalise picketing, including even loitering at or near a house, or dissuading any person from approaching or dealing at any place of business "by words or gestures, or even otherwise." Boycotting, which is defined as refusal to deal or do business or supply goods, "on terms on which such things would be done in the ordinary course," is also an offence.

Some of these Ordinances were to expire in July last, and it was thought that in view of the utter failure of the Government to rule India by Ordinances and the vehement protest of the Indians and sober-minded Englishmen against this repressive policy, a better sense would prevail and they would not be revived. But the British Goverrnment's only logic seems to be brute force—unstinted brute force, and hence it has revived the Ordinances and consolidated them into one.

The "Mischief Makers"

In this connection Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, some time ago told the House of Commons that generally the action taken by the Government had completely succeeded in keeping civil disobedience movement in check, but he added that though the "mischief-makers" had been effectively checked, "they did not yet intend to abandon the subversive campaign," and he ended by announcing that the Government had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to retain the powers which they had taken under the Ordinances. This decision and these statements do not support the claim that the policy of the last six months of ruling India by Ordinances has succeeded.

Even according to the Government of India's statement, 48,602 Congress men and women had been convicted and imprisoned up to the end of May. There was a substantial addition to this number in the month of June. Besides these, a good many persons have been arrested and detained for long or short periods and then let off without trial. Notwithstanding all this the Congress organisation has all along been functioning.

According to Sir Samuel Hoare, there were some timid people who would like to see a drawn battle between the Government and the Congress movement. He arrogantly asserted, however, that "the Government would not be content with a drawn battle." "We are determined," said he, "to take every action in our power to suppress this challenge to our authority."

Sir Samuel Hoare is doomed to disappointment. It is an open secret that when the Government started repression the official expectation was that they would crush the Congress in six weeks' time. Six months have not enabled the Government to achieve that object. The Congress has not been suppressed, and I venture to predict that twice six months more of repression will not enable the Government to suppress the Congress.

Tokyo, August 27, 1932.

Death of Dr. Arthur H. Smith, Veteran American Missionary

The death occurred at his home in Claremont, California, August 31 at the age of 87, of Dr. Arthur H. Smith, veteran Chinese missionary and writer on Chinese themes. The late Dr. Smith was born in Vernon, Connecticut, and was a graduate of Beloit College (1867) He married Emma Dickinson, a friend of Beloit days. He first came to China about 1870, his missionary work being carried on mostly in Chihli and Shantung provinces. Among his best known books are "Chinese Characteristics" and "Village Life in China." Dr. and Mrs. Smith were among those who were under siege in Peking during the Boxer troubles. He was one of the leading spirits in founding Tsing Hua College out of the returned American Boxer Indeminity funds.

Shanghai Chinese Chamber Protests to League Commission

The following are extracts of a communication addressed by the (Chinese) Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai to the League of Nations Enquiry Commission. The communication was dated August 20, 1932, but its contents were not made public until after the Commission had left the Far East.

The Japanese, in their attempt to find seeming justifications for their actions, have made the utmost use and grossly exaggerated every little imaginary grievance they can lay hands on,

Not only are the alleged Japanese grievances trivial and unreal. *The monopolistic rights and privileges, on which these grievances are based, are themselves illegal on account of their incompatibility with the principle of Open Door and Equal Opportunities, as guaranteed by numerous treaties and agreements during the last half century. They are even in direct contradiction to the treaties and agreements, which Japan has herself forced upon China,* in which, nevertheless, it has been explicitly stipulated that she is "not to obstruct any measure China may take for the development of Manchuria," and that she is to "respect China's administrative and territorial integrity in the Three Eastern Provinces."

Japan has, in utter disregard for international obligations to respect the sovereign rights of another nation, forced China, at the point of the sword, to sign treaties giving away vital rights and privileges; *but she, herself, does not hesitate to trample under foot the very same treaties, refusing to observe the little that has been her part of the undertakings and going beyond the limits she herself has set.* And, while condemning China's demand for abolition of the 1915 Treaty as a disrespect for international obligations, she has no scruple about scrapping the Nine-Power Treaty, of which she is a solemn and voluntary signatory, because it is, according to her opinion, in jeopardy to her national existence.

From the fact that practically every intensification of the Japanese military operations has been preceded by a declaration to the contrary on the part of their responsible authorities, it is evident that even the Japanese themselves have not dreamt that they would have met so few obstacles.

When Japan invaded Mukden, it was declared that the control of Kirin and Heilungkiang was a stratigical necessity; with the occupation of these two provinces, Jehol in its turn, has been considered as endangering the safety of Manchuria. Now, while she is intensifying her activities in Jehol, Peiping and Tientsin have already been mentioned as a "potential menace." The ingenuity of the Japanese logic is unique. Before she had a foothold on the mainland, Korea, with all earnestness, was declared her first line of defence. After the annexation of Korea, with the same earnestness, Manchuria, in its turn, has been declared her first line of defence. The day may not be near yet, when Japan should want India or the Philippines as her first line of defence; but this only depends on how far the Japanese be allowed their own way. Direct negotiations are out of question. Not only should the League not acqiesce in any inequitable settlement that China might be intimidated into acceding to, it is its actual duty to prevent and prescribe any such settlement.

All boycotts in China against the Japanese have been the direct response to the particularly odious of their innumerable acts of aggression; every one of these boycotts has been provoked by the most grave and direct instances of painful injustice which Japan choses to inflict upon China; never has there been a single instance, when the boycott has been the cause and not the result of these aggressions.

With Japan still in occupation of Manchuria and carrying on her warfare there, can it be expected that the Chinese people should supplement her war chest by continuing to buy her goods? So, the present boycott must be regarded as a measure of self-defence, and neither a means of revenge nor a show of hatred. After Japan should have restored to China the territories and administrations of Manchuria and, abiding by the decision of an international arbitration, should have made adequate atonements for her wrongs; if then the Chinese should still persist in their boycott, only then could they be accused of vindictiveness and animosity.

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In the United States Court for China

In re.
LAST WILL & TESTAMENT
of
MALKAH HARRIS SHEEKS
Deceased

Cause No. 3468
Special Proceeding No. 793
NOTICE

Pursuant to an Order of said Court notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the estate of MALKAH HARRIS SHEEKS, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned on or before March 17, 1933, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payments of the same in due course to the undersigned.

George Le Mar Sheeks
Executor
47 Peking Road
Shanghai.

Shanghai, China,
September 9, 1932.

In the United States Court for China

In re.
Estate
of
PERCY DICKSON WEBB
Deceased

Cause No. 3472
Special Proceeding No. 797
NOTICE

Pursuant to an Order of said Court notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the estate of PERCY DICKSON WEBB, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned on or before March 24th 1933, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payments of the same in due course to the undersigned.

CHAUNCEY P. HOLCOMB.
Administrator
12 Kiukiang Road,
Shanghai, China.

Shanghai, China.
September 19, 1932.

Are You Thinking of Committing Suicide?

If so, don't. Committing suicide is a dangerous business and likely to interfere with your health. And besides, you never know, just round the corner good fortune may be awaiting you. Take a brisk walk round several street corners. Probably you'll find a chemist's shop, with Pinkettes on sale. Pinkettes are Liver and Laxative perfection. They are just what you are needing. You'll be surprised how a few doses of these splendid little aperient pills will change your outlook on life, dispelling your depression and gloom, toning up your digestion, making life worth living in spite of everything.

When you are fit, life always seems good. Take Pinkettes occasionally and keep yourself in good spirits.

Notes from America

(From the Review's Special Correspondent)

"WHO will be the next president of the United States" is the blazing question of contemporary America. Prognosticators exhaust themselves, and the newspapers, depending on their complexions, are filled with publicity for this or that candidate. President Hoover's acceptance speech strengthened his candidacy. The Republican New York *Herald-Tribune* thinks that it has regained him his lost popularity.

The address was, in large measure, noteworthy. For the first time Hoover spoke straight from the shoulder. Even if you disagreed with him, you admired it for its minimum of straddling. The great "humanitarian" appeared as an arch defender of conservatism. He defended the old principles of American form of government and was against all change. There was not the slightest trace of liberalism in him. This is totally different from the picture presented four years ago—the picture of a man who merged the best in conservative and liberal ideals.

Present feeling is that if Mr. Hoover is re-elected America's domestic policy will be conservative while her foreign policy will be liberal; and that if Mr. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, is elected, America's domestic policy will be liberal while her foreign policy will be conservative.

In this light, Chinese might prefer a Hoover victory.

China knows the attitude of the Hoover administration on the Far Eastern crisis. Mr. Stimson, despite bitter criticism of Hearst and other papers, inaugurated and lately re-affirmed a doctrine which liberals believe to be the most important step taken by the United States since the World War. That doctrine, repeated for Japan's benefit, states that the United States will not recognize any territory seized by her, any puppet state operated by her armies, any agreements wrung from China with bullets.

Mr. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, has made no known utterance on the Far East. The Democratic platform, however, has as its foreign policy that general statement—peace with other countries.

When this was first announced, Japan virtually hailed a new friend and took the occasion to hurl criticism at Mr. Stimson's ideas. There is nothing, however, to indicate that the Democrats in power will be friendlier to Japan's adventure in Manchuria than have been the Republicans.

T. Z. Koo Stands Out

China has many noted sons who are "blanks" abroad, but very few who are noted abroad and are "blanks" in China. Of the latter, T. Z. Koo stands out. Virtually every American college student has listened to or heard of Dr. Koo; very few Americans interested in China or the Far East have not been moved or heartened by his speeches. Yet his name is seldom seen in the Chinese reviews.

Dr. Koo is the perennial trans-Pacific passenger. Last August he was called from Australia to Cleveland to speak before the World "Y" Conference. No sooner was he back in China, he was recalled to Buffalo to address a world conference of students. His return to China was delayed by a continental tour on the Manchurian crisis that brought him before every important forum and college platform in America. Back in China, he was cabled to return to Williamstown to address the summer Institute of Politics.

Dr. Koo's popularity is, in large degree, due to a liberal Christian approach to questions that at times sound disquieting to Chinese listeners. If anything, he is a propagandist for Christ first, for China second. Yet Japanese pressure was more than once strenuously exerted to halt his speaking engagements.

More than any other Chinese during the past year, he stood out as China's outstanding spokesman on the Sino-Japanese conflict. While Japanese speakers rotated to America at Japan's military command, Dr. Koo's appearances were always initiated by Americans.

Hollywood Uses Chinese to Portray Banditry

The Hollywood melordramas on the Manchurian crisis are at hand. They pinion and vilify China. They uphold Japan's publicity arguments of Chinese banditry in Manchuria and corrupt Chinese generals. "Roar of the Dragon" emphasized the bandit theme, while "War Correspondent" used a Japanese to portray the sinister Chinese general. Melodramas of the cheapest sort, they rival the worst Chinatown films Hollywood has foisted on unsuspecting publics in the past.

And Hollywood "defends" them. Hollywood says that they have given employment to some 30,000 Chinese men and women in Los Angeles Chinatown. This is sheer publicity, specially stressed to give the fake notion that Chinese approve. Undoubtedly a few Chinese got jobs but not in the vicinity of 30,000. The Chinese are not to be balmed for earning a few extra dollars; refusal meant Japanese substitutes. For example, Tetsu Komai was specially imported from Japan to play the wily Chinese general in "War Correspondent."

Has Japan had a hand? The brilliance of Japanese organized goodwill propaganda that seeped so subtly and successfully through the unaccustomed channels of art, stage, music, sports, radio unmistakably affected Hollywood. Moreover, during the last eight months, movie audiences saw many short "educational" films about Japan in Manchuria, all made with Japanese consent and direction.

A more direct exposure of Hollywood's method is the recent riot in New York's Chinatown when the Fox Movietone Company tried to stage a fake opium raid at 4 Doyers Street. Police participated and cooperated while hundreds of Chinese stood in chill calm. Resentment boiled over when eight "prisoners" in Chinese garb were dragged to a patrol-wagon, and it was seen that they were Negroes. The detectives then presented a fine made-up collection of opium pipes to a camera close-up. Stones, tomatoes, cups and bottles put an end to the effort. Arrests! The object was a series of publicity shorts for the New York Police which has lately been faring none too well in the press.

A typical Hollywood treatment of truth!

The Lone Chinese Olympic Competitor

Virtually every well-known sports commentator in metropolitan America praised the lone Chinese participant in the Olympic games. At the opening parade, he was singled out by contrast with the lavish delegations from Japan and America—delegations totally unreflective of the economic crises of the two countries. Japan's was the biggest foreign delegation—some 170 official athletes or many other substitutes.

America was on home soil, but Japan! The Japanese motive was so outwardly a scheme to win American attention by sheer force of numbers that it militated against their surprsingly brilliant showing in two or three events. The result was that Japan received less press publicity than her achievements merited, some Eastern papers even burying her victories in the middle or end columns.

Skepticism Regarding Institutes

It seems as if the day of the "Institute" movement as a medium of influencing public opinion is passing. The term, "Institute," as applied to groups of people eager to explore impartially questions of contemporary interest has now, in the minds of intellectual people, acquired disfavor in place of the trust and confidence it once had years ago. Why has the thinking public grown skeptical of Institutes?

First, too many groups with special points of view parade under the name "Institute." It sounds pretty, but its oft-distorted use has given it an offensive odor.

Second, the pioneer Institutes have of late been suffering attacks for prejudiced or controlled viewpoints. Two years ago, the Williamstown Institute of Politics was roundly "exposed" for its fake impartiality to Soviet Russia. Now the American head of the Institute of Pacific Relations, expected to be impartial, has used his name to squelch the boycott movement in America and to defend Japan's acts in Manchuria.

Some, therefore, question the value of the current Williamstown Institute of Politics. On the Far East, Dr. Inaze Nitobe and Dr. Roy Akagi for Japan, and Dr. T. Z. Koo and Dr. Kiang Kang-hu for China were the main speakers. Dr. Nitobe was accorded unusual prominence; he delivered the opening address and others.

Dr. Nitobe, you will recall, was one of a series of Japanese statesmen routed to America to consolidate public opinion in favor of Japan. Noted as a liberal, he was naturally welcomed in influential circles. His addresses, however, proved him far from liberal. He was, if anything, a Japanese government mouthpiece. Liberal friends, many, felt "gypped." With this record, he stepped on the Williamstown platform.

Dr. Akagi holds a Japanese endowed chair at Columbia University. He has been using this title for the past months to lash China in pamphlets, on the platform, and over the radio. He seems to specialize on stirring up anti-China pjrejudice by presenting "facts" about anti-

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foreignism, communism, corrupt officials, rotten government, and banditry in China. Dr. Akagi, who worked his way through college in America, unquestionably knows his public—which is not always true of other Japanese speakers.

Pearl S. Buck and Princess Der Ling

Literary receptions in New York City are an important phase in the ballyhoo process of selling books. These events are "whoopee" parties; nothing intellectual. So when Pearl S. Buck arrived in Manhattan and a reception was thrown in her honor, literary New York was surprised at the intellectual color the event acquired.

Instead of the customary wisecracks, Mrs. Buck, after *being* praised by Chinese and Americans, spoke on the Chinese novel—"so scholarly," according to one reviewer.

Mrs. Buck, who of late has been indiscriminately attacking "foreign Chinese" and things foreign in China, included modern Chinese writers in her address. "If I have a quarrel to pick with modern Chinese writers," she said, "it is that they turn eyes continually westward, not seeing about them the incomparable stuffs waiting to be woven into the garment of kings!"

Mrs. Buck's "The Good Earth" and other writings command scant respect among Chinese students and intellectuals in America. Here she is criticised, seldom praised. Yet in public prints only one Oriental, a Korean author, perhaps out of rivalry, has seeen fit to make her his special province of criticism. In the meantime, Mrs. Buck has the American reading public on her knees. By and large, she does China a good service.

Another literary lady who holds a thin section of the reading public is Mrs. Thaddeus D. White, better known as Princess Der Ling. While Mrs. Buck, an American gone Chinese, defends and upholds Chinese virtues and living, Princess Der Ling, a Manchu—she dislikes being mistaken as Chinese—gone American, minimizes and laughs at them. What fun if the two were brought together on the same platform in a debate! why not?

New York, September 1, 1932.

The Threat in the Stimson Doctrine

(New Republic, August 24)

THE IMPORT of Mr. Stimson's speech at the Council on Foreign Relations is more far reaching than has been recognized in this country. It is more than an amiable declaration of belief in peace pacts and international consultation to prevent wars. Stripped of generalities, placed in its diplomatic setting and given the connotations with which it will be read by foreign governments, it unequivocally commits the United States in the Far East. The so-called Stimson Doctrine of non-recognition of acts of aggression is no abstract formula. The events of the last year in Manchuria give it volcanic potentialities. And Mr. Stimson reiterates it, points it and pledges the United States behind it. Beyond any further pretense the United States is now an active participant in the welter of Far Eastern power politics, while clinging simultaneously to the fictive sanctity of isolation from Europe.

On January 7 of this year Mr. Stimson culminated a series of challenging notes to Japan by a formal declaration that the American government would not recognize any situation in the Far East brought about in violation of the Kellogg Pact. To make the reference unmistakable, the first sentence of the note gave as the reason for its dispatch that "the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in South Manchuria as it existed prior to September 18, 1931, has been destroyed." With bland indifference to this, as to previous communications by the American government and the League of Nations, the Japanese proceeded to set up a dummy independent state in Manchuria, the so-called Manchuko, with the former Boy Emperor of China as window-dressing for the Japanese military men who actually rule. The breach was apparently irreparable, but there was precedent for bridging it by evasion.

This possibility exists no longer. If Japan had any disposition to assume that the United States, having had the moral satisfacton of declaring high principles, would be satisfied therewith and forgot the substance and in the Far East it is assumed by others than Japanese that the United States indulges in magniloquence in lieu of action—Mr. Stimson has now given notification that the American government means what it said. He repeats that the United States will not recognize any situation in the Far East brought about in violation of the Kellogg Pact and, lest there be any possibility of escape by interpretation, he refers to the change in Manchuria as "fruits of aggression." In addition he seeks to commit the members of the League of Nations by recording in the same context the Assembly's resolution of March 11—although that resolution is equivocal; it does not outlaw the Manchurian conquest but only declares it "incumbent" on the members of the League to do so. Each member of the League is free to make its own interpretation and decision.

Now, the Sitmson Doctrine, if it is anything at all, connot be left hanging in space. It must be implemented or dropped. And here the issue is omiuously clear and inescapable. We do not recognize that Japan has taken Manchuria. But Japan has taken it. Whether the egregious pretense of Manchukuo is maintained or, as is more likely, Japan annexes the territory as it did Korea, Japan is in possession. And recognition or non-recognition cannot forever remain an abstraction. Sooner or later the test of definition in action will come: consular representation, commercial law, tariffs, judicial administration. Then the Stimson Doctrine is applied or adandoned, Then the United States yields or Japan yields. It must be one or the other now: Japan must evacuate all of South Manchuria except the railway zone which it had until 1931 or the United States must accept the fact that Manchuria is Japanese.

There is only one alternative to the surrender of either party and that is war. Somebody must forcibly eject Japan from Manchuria if Japan does not elect to go and the Stimson Doctrine is to be vindicated. No European nation is likely to fight Japan for the sake of the Kellogg-Briand Pact least of all Russia, which has a larger stake in Manchuria than all the others combined. Who is to do the ejecting? China? Not under present conditions. China unified and reinvigorated under the only cohesive movement now visible in that country—the Communist? Possibly. But are Mr. Stimson and Mr. Hoover relying on this possibility? And where would their sympathies lie if it became imminent? There remains only the United states.

It may be questioned how far the American government represents the American people in its Far Eastern policy, and whether the masses of Americans employed or unemployed are sufficiently concerned in the status of Manchuria to be willing to stake their lives and fortunes on changing the flag which flies over it, In that connection it might be asked how many of them know where Manchuria is.

Can nothing be done to prevent war in the Far East, with all the forces that always eventuate in war now making before our eyes? As it happens, Japan has for months made tentative suggestions of an international conference to discuss Far Eastern question. It has ulterior motives, of course; it hopes to buy off opposition to its Manchurian conquest by concessions to the Powers in Shanghai and other Chinese ports at the expense of Chinese aspirations for full sovereignty. China, too, has proposed the calling of a conference. Such a conference need not necessarily be limited to the purposes of the Japanese military clique. The Far East is in flux, dangerous flux, as it had not been since the end of the World War, just before the Washington Conference. That meeting was a fiasco, because every fundamental condition in the Far East, every potential war cause, was deliberately evaded. Every Power interested in the Far East wanted to retain the fruits of its own imperialistic aggressions. The result was Chinese nationalism and the precipitation of a succession of crises or which the Manchurian conflict is the latest and most serious.

We know now the danger of evasion by the posture of the ostrich, and the futility of pretending that we can deal with China of 1932 as we did with China of 1898. We have ample evidence that so long as it remains unsettled whether China is independent or not, free from encroachment or subject to the exactions of the strong, we shall have international rivalries for the perquisites of aggression. In other words, we shall have the causes of war. And until we go to the root causes of war in the Far East, we shall have war, no matter what the mechanisms for the handling of international disputes. No conference can, of course, uproot the causes of war unless the Powers attending come prepared to make the sacrifices which peace demand. But it might poll each nation as to how far it was willing to go to preserve peace. It might clarify the issues and the position of each nation on the issues. And it might enlighten the people of each nation as to what they would in time be called upon to die for. If our now vocal statesmen really mean their words about arraying the opinion of the world against war, then it must be the opinion not only of Cabinet Ministers, but of the masses who pay the price, an opinion enlightened as to what makes the disputes which threaten war. Sooner or later we must face the consequences in the Far East, and the sooner the better.

Men and Events

George Bronson Rea, American adviser to Manchukuo, was received by President Hoover at Washington, September 14.

M. Moresthe, director of the *Journal de Shanghai*, French daily newspaper, is making a tour through North Manchuria.

Stirling Fessenden, secretary general of the Shanghai Foreign Municipality, is due back in Shanghai September 27 from a holiday spent in Hawaii.

The death occurred at Portland, Oregon, September 18 of John H. Free, the father of Mrs. Sidney A. Moss, both of whom were former residents of Shanghai.

On the new American trans-Atlantic liner *Manhattan*, "Chinese" waitresses (that is American maidens made up and dressed as Chinese) are in service in the Oriental palm lounge.

The Texas Oil Company's steamer *California*, which arrived at Hankow Sept. 15 carrying 17,000 tons of oil, is the largest steamer ever to have gone up the river to Hankow.

The Ministry of the Interior at Nanking on Sept. 15 made public its estimate of the present population of China It gives the total as 474,000,000, this figure including Manchuria.

The death occurred at Litchfield, Connecticut Sept. 12, at the age of 85 of Rear-Admiral George Partridge Colvocoresses, who played a conspicuous part in the battle of Manila Ray.

A son was born to Ann Summers, known in private life as Mrs. Sarcey T. Chen, at the Country Hospital, Shanghai, September 17. Ann Summers is a well-known dancing instructress.

Baron Sumitomo, one of Japan's business magnates, has offered one million yen to the Japanese Government, to be used for the "promotion of social culture and work for social benefit."

Mrs. Wellington Koo, wife of the Chinese Minister to France and also delegate to the League of Nations, is due to sail for Europe on October 7 from Shanghai to join her husband in Geneva.

Lieut.-General Kenkichi Uyeda, one of the victims of the Hongkew Park bombing incident, has entered the Military Medical School hospital at Tokyo to have an artificial left leg fitted.

W. O'Neill, formerly *Reuter's* manager at Tientsin and Hongkong, arrived in Shanghai during the week to take up his appointment as assistant manager of *Reuter's* Commercial Services, Shanghai.

The death occurred at Kobe Sept. 21 of Clayton Anderson, aged 19, Shanghai American School graduate. He was stricken with meningitis while on his way to the United States.

Chang Ching-kiang, formerly chairman of the Chekiang Provincial Government, was in Shanghai during the week on a brief business visit. He has in the meantime returned to his home in Hangchow.

William Z. L. Sung, vice-president of St. John's University who attended the Olympic Games in Los Angeles on behalf of the China National Amateur Athletic Federation, has again returned to Shanghai.

The first tiffin meeting of the American University Club of the year 1932-33 will be held at the Astor House Tuesday, September 27 when C. O. Julian, manager of the R.C.A.-Victor Corporation, will be the speaker.

Wang Tsu-yao, who has arrived in Shanghai from Kirin on behalf of General Li Tu, commander-in-chief of the self-defense army of Kirin province, is contemplating the establishment of a publicity bureau here.

Mrs. Roger S. Greene, wife of the acting director of the Peking Union Medical College, who is visiting the United States, is due to sail for China on September 24, arriving in Peiping about the middle of next month.

Dr. J. Usang Ly, president of Chiaotung University, was at Hangchow during the week to attend the ninth annual conference of the Chinese Economic Institute, which was in session at the West Lake city until September 23.

The Ministry of Communications issued instructions to all post offices to use a special stamp during the week beginning September 18, bearing eight characters reading "Remove disgrace. Save Nation and Recover Lost Territory."

J. K. Caldwell arrived in Sydney, Australia, August 18 to take up the duties of Consul-General for the United States, in succession to R. C. Tredwell. Mr. Caldwell was consul at Vladivostok from 1914 to 1920, and consul at Kobe in 1921.

Miss Genevieve Wimsatt, well-known American authoress, passed through Shanghai during the week en route to the United States via Suez, after paying a visit to Peiping where she had been gathering materials for writing purposes.

Kuei Hung-chih and Ki Yueh-yi, Chinese consul and vice-consul, respectively, of Manchukuo at Blagoveschensk, left Changchun for their posts September 18 to assume their duties. They are the first consular officials appointed by the new Manchurian state.

A campaign against Count Hirotaro Hayashi, new president of the South Manchuria Railway, has been begun at Dairen by the "Rokumon-kai" group, which demands his impeachment. The Japanese telegrams intimate that his eventual resignation is inevitable.

Chu Min-yi, chief secretary of the Executive Yuan of the National Government, proceeded on a short visit to Hangchow end of last week. Accompanying him was General Chang Fa-kwei, commander-in-chief of the fourth route army of the national government.

G. A. Gedat, associate general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Berlin, who is now visiting in Shanghai, was entertained at a reception by the National Committee of Y.M.C.A. of China September 13 at the National Committee's headquarters, 20 Museum Road.

A Japanese cousular policeman named Masao Minakawa was arrested by Chinese authorities at Nanking September 18 as he was attending the memorial mass meeting disguised as a Chinese. He was removed from the scene without disturbance and escorted to the Japanese Consulate.

Shanghai is shortly to receive a visit from Dr. Theodore Schmidt, Austrian representative on the International Olympic Committee; Dr. Messerli, honorary secretary of the National Olympic Federation of Switzerland: and Dr. E. Richeme, honorary treasurer of the Swiss Federation.

Wu Te-wong, a native of Hunan, who was arrested by Chinese police constables recently for having in his possession 41 brooms, the handles of which were stuffed with opium, was convicted in the Shanghai First Special District Court September 17 and sentenced to seven months imprisonment for smuggling.

General Chiang Kwang-nai, commander-in-chief of the 19th Route Army, and General Tsai Ting-kai, departed from Shanghai on a Dutch steamer September 14 for Fukien province, where they will resume personal charge of the Anti-Red drive. Generals Chiang and Tsai had been on a visit to Shanghai and Nanking for a fortnight.

A telegram from an Austrian city last week stated that Anna May Wong, Chinese cinema star, had been arrested there in connection with a traffic accident. It later developed that this was a case of mistaken identity as Miss Wong is in Los Angeles. The incident involved another Chinese woman named Wong whose home is in San Francisco.

Dr. Herman C. E. Liu, president of the University of Shanghai and one of the best known of Chinese educators, has started a movement through the Vocational Guidance Society to forego the noonday meal (called "tiffin" lo ally) and contribute the money thus saved to the support of Chinese refugees who have had to flee from Manchuria.

V. Tsai, director of the Shanghai Bureau of Inspection and Testing of Commercial Commodities of the Ministry of Industries, who was in Hangchow during the past week conferring with industrialists at the West Lake city on matters regarding China's participation in the 1933 Chicago World's Exposition, has again returned to Shanghai.

The Cantonese (Chinese) wife of a Japanese artist, K. Watanabe, living at 84 Range Road, Shanghai, committe suicide by swallowing morphine September 17. The deceased before her marriage was Miss Tseng Ah-yu, 21 years of age. The suicide had at its motive, it is said, the fact that the artist was without employment and his Chinese wife wished to show her devotion to him in this characteristic Oriental manner.

Dr. C. Walter Young, legal adviser to the League Commission and an American authority on Manchuria, arrived from Peiping beginning of the week and sailed for the United States by the Dollar liner *President Madison* on September 20. After a brief visit to New York, he will go to Geneva to watch the proceedings of the League of Nations Assembly on the Manchurian issue in a private capacity and return to China in December.

Miss Rhea Clyman, Moscow correspondent of the London *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*, has been expelled from the U.S.S.R. by order of the administrative authorities, for spreading reports about "revolts," "pogroms" and "riots" which she alleged were taking place in Soviet territory. *Tass* says this British correspondent went so far in her slanderous statements as to resume the old tales about the "nationalization of women."

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Who's Who in China

Dr. Ernest Tso, pediatrician; born in Wuchang, Hupeh in 1894; early education was received in Boone Middle School and College, Wuchang; began medical study in the Harvard Medical School of China at Shanghai which was continued in the Harvard Medical School of Boston and in 1919 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from Harvard University; after graduation served as an interne in the Boston Children's Hospital, the Infectious Diseases Department of the Boston City Hospital, and the Boston Floating Hospital for Sick Infants; from 1921 to 1931 he served on the staff of the Peking Union Medical College, Peiping, in the Division of Pediatrics as Assistant, Associate, and Assistant Professor of Pediatrics; during his furlough year in 1925-6 he was appointed Research Fellow in Pediatrics in the Yale University Hospital at New Haven; in 1929 he was elected one of the delegates from the Peking Union Medical College to the XIIIth International Physiological Congress held in Boston; in the same year he visited many important hospitals for children in Europe and the United States; in 1930-31 he was appointed chief of the Division of Pediatrics at the Peking Union Medical College; in 1932 appointed Clinical Professor of Pediatrics in the Medical School of the National Central University and Consulting Physician in the Red Cross Hospital in Shanghai; since 1931 he has been in private practice in Shanghai; he has written and published numerous scientific papers on the diseases of children and infant nutrition; his research work on the adaptation of a soybean food to infant feeding as an economical substitute for cow's milk was presented to the XIIIth International Physiological Congress and generally recognized as an important authoritative contribution to the science of infant nutrition; present address: 19 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai.

祝愼之
Dr. Ernest Tso

祝愼之，湖北武昌人，年三十八歲，幼肄業於武昌文華中學及大學，後入哈佛大學醫學院上海分院，轉赴美入哈佛大學醫學院，一九一九年得醫學博士位，卒業後，任波司登小兒科醫院駐院醫師，波司登市立醫院傳染病科醫師，及波司登小兒科海上醫院醫師，一九二一至三一任職北平協和醫院，歷任該院小兒科助理及小兒科助理教授，一九二五至二六年，被選爲耶魯大學醫院小兒科研究員，一九二九年被推爲北平協和醫院代表，出席美國波司登第十三屆世界生理學會，是年並攷察歐美各小兒科醫院，一九三〇至三一年，任北平協和醫院小兒科主任，一九三二年，任國立中央大學醫學院小兒科臨診教授及中國紅十字會醫院顧問醫師，自一九三一年起卽在滬執行業務，祝君著作頗多其關於病孩之滋養等論文時散見於各醫學雜誌並研究改良大豆食品以代牛乳滋養嬰孩其研究書呈交於第十三屆世界生理學會，極博得該會之讚許咸認爲嬰兒滋養品學上之一大貢献云云，通信處，圓明路十九號。

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CUSTOMS NOTIFICATION No. 1240

With reference to Customs Notification of the 18th August, 1932, notifying the regulations governing the issue of Consular Invoices, the public is hereby notified that in accordance with Government instructions Article IX of the above regulations is modified to read as follows:

"If the consignee can give the number of the Consular invoice which has actually been issued by a Chinese Consul abroad to cover cargo shipped to China, but is unable to produce the invoce to the Customs when applying for importation, either because it is in the hands of a bank or has been lost in transit, he shall be required to pay on deposit a sum of G.U. 5.00 in the case of goods shipped from abroad during September and October, G.U. 10.00 in the case of goods shipped from abroad during November and December, and G.U. 15.00 in the case of goods shipped from abroad on and after 1st January 1933. This deposit will be refunded by the Customs if the consignee produces the original Cosnular invoice bearing the number previously declared to the Customs within three months from date of payment of the deposit, failing which a Consular invoice will be issued by the Customs and the deposit will be forfeited and treated in accordance with the regulations."

H. O. Tong,
Superintendent of Customs,

F. D. Goddard,
Commissioner of Customs,
Officiating.

CUSTOM HOUSE,
Shanghai, 19th September, 1932.

New Books of Interest in the Far East

The U. S. Navy on Trial

The Navy: Defense or Portent?, by Charles A. Beard; published by Harper and Brothers, New York.

In view of the fact that United States Navy has been concentrated in the Pacific Ocean almost ever since the Sino-Japanese crisis started, and a *United Press* report of August 13 said that the Atlantic Fleet's stay in the Pacific had been extended to next February, Mr. Beard's book is of especial interest to the Orient.

The American naval authorities, of course, are emphatic in saying that there is no connection between the Sino-Japanese situation and the concentration of almost the entire navy in the Pacific—economy being their explanation,—but no intelligent observer can help pondering on the possibilities of a Japanese-American clash in the near future. Japan's rampage on the Asiatic mainland has challenged American hegemony in the Pacific, which for many years has been as cardinal a principle of American foreign policy as the Monroe Doctrine, and in support of which the United States formulated the "Open Door" policy in China and virtually dictated the Washington Nine-Power Treaty.

Whether the United States will ever fight to curb Japan, or whether in the long run she will reluctantly follow the lead of certain European nations who are more and more obviously supporting Tokyo as the eastern defender of the capitalist faith against Moscow, remains to be seen, but for the present an American-Japanese war is one of the most outstanding of realistic possibilities for the consideration of thoughtful persons. Wherefore what Mr. Beard has to say is especially timely.

Mr. Beard's book is not predicated on any pacifistic basis, although he does express the futile hope that some good can come from what he describes as "international cooperation in the limitation of sea armaments, supplemented by the economic boycott," but in the main his volume is devoted to questioning of the actual defense or offense value of the American navy as now constituted.

Much of the mterial he presents is exceedingly devastating. He points out that the principal propaganda for a bigger and better navy comes not from individuals competent to discuss the subject intelligently, but from either those who wish to sell steel and other materials to the government, or from rather sorry "experts" who appear to think of men-of-war more on the basis of the deck space they provide for afternooon teas than on any consideration of their fighting ability.

Chief among those who propagandize for bigger and better ships because of what they have to sell is the Navy League in Washington, which is composed largely of armament manufacturers such as the Midvale Steel Company, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and the United States Steel Corporation. These and other arms manufacturers were also responsible for the hiring of W. B. Shearer whose anti-disarmament activities at the Geneva Conference in 1927 were subsequently exposed and caused quite a scandal. Obviously Shearer and his employes had no genuine and intelligent interest in American defense; they were interested solely in selling materials to the government for as many ships as possible regardless of their value. In fact, in one proven instance the patriotism of Mr. Schwab was so low that some of the armor plate he sold the government was full of concealed "blowholes."

The competence of some of the so-called "experts" who frequently appear before Congress for the Navy Department to seek appropriations for more and larger ships is deliciously illustrated by Mr. Beard through extracts from the *Congressional Record*. In one instance an "expert," Admiral Rock, did not "remember" whether any American battleships participated in the Battle of Jutland—which was fought almost a year before the United States entered the World War! In another instance another "expert," Admiral Chase, admitted on the witness stand that he had never commanded the fleet, had never been chief of naval operations, and never been chief of bureau of navigation, had never been to sea on an eight-inch cruiser, had never seen such a cruiser in target practice, and did not know the thickness of armor on the turrets of an eight-inch cruiser or on ships of the class of the *Salt Lake City!* Yet he was an "expert" on American naval defense!

Just how much real value naval ships other than destroyers and submarines would be in a future war is one of the most important questions raised by Mr. Beard. He quotes a British observer as saying that the principal use of battleships "is to provid spacious decks for proud admirals." Mr. Beard himself points out that "spick-and-span admirals and high officers do not relish putting on overalls with greasy mechanics and living in submarines—those effective instruments for national defense,"—and he quotes Admiral Sims as saying that "in case of war the safest place for battleships would be up the Mississippi River as far as they could go." Mr. Beard adds that "that would also be a safe procedure for cruisers."

Certainly during the World War, when aerial attack was considerably less developed than it is today, the gigantic battleships in which Germany and England had invested so many millions of dollars were conspicious chiefly by their inconspicuousness. They engaged in but one battle—the Battle of Jutland—and no one can say positively to this day who, if anyone, won that engagement. Further, it is generally agreed that had Germany invested more in submarines and less in battleships she would have had a good chance to win the war.

As a matter of fact, it is highly probable that the next war will be fought largely by airplanes dropping high explosives and poison gas, and submarines blowing up virtually all ships that venture on the seas. Of course, it must be cited that the Japanese showed very little skill in aerial warfare around Shanghai, but even so it seems highly unlikely that American battleships would have much success in sailing up the Inland Sea in the romantic fashion of Admiral Dewey in the Battle of Manila. Nor is it probable that either battleships or crusiers would be of any great use in defending the American coast; certainly the best technical evidence indicates airplanes and submarines would be of much more value should the Japanese Navy venture to attack Seattle or San Francisco.

In peace-time patrol work—such as ih China waters where cruisers, for example, could crush a Red Army that invaded a coastal city—the larger ships are doubtless of some value. But even in such work destroyers would be equally efficient, and more efficient along the Yangtsze River. And in war with a major power, such as Japan, destroyers would, through their agility and speed, be the only large ships that could hope to dodge submarines and airplanes. But, alas, destroyers are terribly uncomfortable for "spick-and-span admirals" and their decks are simply awful for afternoon tea dances!

Shanghai, September 17, 1932. W. B.

A Record of Dismal Failure

World Disarmament; Its Problems and Prospects, by Denys P. Myers; World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

An interesting debate,—but which would be as thoroughly useless as the violent discussions that still rage in the more remote American villages on whether fire is more destructive than water,—could be staged on the question of whether Disarmament Conferences are more useless than the League of Nations. The answer, it seems to this reviewer, depends on one's latest reading. Having just finished a book on disarmament, and the last League session being sometime in the past, I am convinced at the moment that the Disarmament Conferences are a trifle more useless than the League, but after next month I will doubtless give the edge to the League.

To talk of any genuine disarmament today when Japan is engaging in one of the most militaristic rampages of history and directly threatening the interests of two other major powers—the U. S. and U.S.S.R.—is to be academic at the best and silly at the worst, wherefore Mr. Myers is to be complimented for being as academic as possible. That, however, is rather hard on the reader, for the technical description of drafts and counter-drafts on such fundamentally unimportant points as 8-inch guns *versus* 6-inch guns is somewhot tedious.

However, within the limits of the "impartiality" that is the boast of the World Peace Foundation, Mr. Myers brings out some ironically luscious facts. For example, no nation today can embark on a war without violating at least one multilateral treaty! Japan had to hurdle five—the maximum number possible—but she got there just the same! Banzai!

Nevertheless, the mere assembly of data in World Peace Foundation fashion without analysis or emphasis

on key points gives a twisted view of the situation in at least one instance. Disarmament Conferences reached their tragi-comic climax in 1927 when the Soviet Union proposed complete and immediate disarmament on the very logical but somehow startling theory that the only way to disarm is to disarm. If nobody is going to fight anybody, obviously there is no use for any arms save, of course, police forces, but Mr. Myers abstrusely states that the Soviet proposal "precipitated an argument on the fundamental question as to whether the work of the (Preparatory Disarmament) Commission was going to cut armament out of the body politic or only going to prune it."

Actually, the Soviet proposal called the whole disaramament bluff. If the nations of the world cannot agree to the equality inherent in the lack of any armaments (save police forces), they must obviously have plans for the future in mind that call for the weapons of war Hence, it would be very foolish to suppose that any of them will consent to do any real disarming. Economic considerations may force some agreements to *limit* arms, but there will be no *reduction* save in weapons that are regarded as obsolete for modern warfare. Therefore all Disarmament Conferences since the Soviet proposal was rejected must be regarded as window-dressing of very tranished tinsel insofar as disarmament for the prevention of war is concerned.

No progress has been made, Mr. Myers' record reveals, for even the treaty curbing of the more horrible methods of modern warfare, such as poison gas. A resolution or so has been passed on the subject, but every nation, particularly the United States, is devoting much money and time toward development of chemical combat. Of course, if a treaty outlawing poison gas were adopted, it would be somewhat naive to suppose that it would have any greater practical validity than the late lamented Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war.

While he does not definitely say so, Mr. Myers apparently believes that armaments are a cause of war, which is not a sound thesis. Armaments are merely one expression of the cause of war, the real cause being the prevailing world system of imperialistic exploitation that has been most recently examplified in a sensationally active way by Japan. And as long as that system continues every major nation must be prepared, perforce, to fight, either to grab more spoils or to defend the loot of past conquests. Consequently, Mr. Myers' dismal record is merely evidence of the inevitable.

Shanghai, September 18, 1932. W. B.

A Book on American Sports

Play the Game, edited by Mitchell V. Charnley. New York: The Viking Press. G$3.50.

Play the Game, the book of sport, is a collection of special articles and interviews on all phases of major and minor American sports, originally written for *The American Boy.*

A study of the table of contents gives one an understanding of what to expect,—baseball, football, basketball, track, tennis and the minor sports all coming in for a share of the 344 pages, to say nothing of the varied illustrations and diagrams.

The last decade in America has seen the entire nation, particularly in the persons of the boys and young men, become sport-conscious. The culmination has just been reached by the holding of the Tenth Olympiad in the United States, in which American athletes starred as never before. To assist in reaching such excellence was one of the motivating reasons for Play the Game—an attempt to stimulate the youth of America to become better players of games, and at the same time to comprehend the ways and means of self-improvement.

This volume on sports may be viewed as a general textbook on present-day athletics, having something encyclopedic about it; yet it is intensely interesting, because the advice is given by men who are stars, men who have made stars, or men who have written about stars.

M. V.

Recent Publications Received

The September issue of *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D.C.) contains a 26-page copiously illustrated article dealing with Shanghai, "Key Seaport of China," by W. Robert Moore. Mr. Moore, the writer of the article is a regular contributor to the magazine, being the author of "Coronation Days in Addis Abba," and "Along the Old Mandarin Road in Indo-China." The

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NOTICE

To Subscribers

(*Residing Overseas*)

Dating from August 1, 1932 the subscription rate for persons residing outside of China has been reduced from G.$10 a year to G.$8 a year, including postage.

The new rate applies to subscribers residing in the United States, Canada, Europe and Russia.

The new rate, estimated in the currency of the Federated Malay States is equivalent to s. s. $15. In India, Australia and other places using English currency the rate is equivalent to £2:8:0.

The China Weekly Review

38 Avenue Edward VII
Shanghai.

same issue contains an article on "Macao, Land of Sadness," by Edgar Allen Forbes, and also of interest to China residents an article by Norman Ellison on Shark Fishing in Australian Waters, this article also being illustrated.

"One Year of Japan's Undeclared War on China," is the title of a new book dealing with the present Sino-Japanese crisis which shortly is to be issued. The book was written by Edward Bing-Shuey Lee well-known Chinese writer whose name appeared prominently in the papers a few months ago when the Japanese caused the suppression of the *Peking Leader*, of which Mr. Lee was editor. The book will contain twenty-three chapters dealing with all phases of the present crisis and in addition there will be an appendix containing a complete collection of all diplomatic notes exchanged between China and the Powers and the League dealing with the present situation.

READERS of *The China Weekly Review* who may be interested in obtaining copies of any books which have been reviewed in these columns, may obtain them by sending their orders in care of *The Review*....If obtainable in Shanghai the books will be mailed immediately at retail prices prevailing in Shanghai, plus postage, or if not obtainable here, they will be ordered from the publishers abroad. Send orders or inquiries to Book Editor, *The China Weekly Review*, 38 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai.

U. S. Court and Bar Pay Tribute to the Late W. S. Fleming

Judge Milton D. Purdy, Consul General Edwin S. Cunningham and members of the American Bar of Shanghai assembled at the United States Court for China September 20 to pay tribute to the memory of their late colleague, William S. Fleming, whose death occurred last week. C. P. Holcomb, president of the local American Bar, presented a set of resolutions, which were subsequently adopted by unanimous vote. Judge Purdy said he had lost a dear friend in Mr. Fleming. Copies of the resolutions are being sent to relatives of the deceased in California.

Chinese Refuse to Recognize Manchukuo Passport

(Telegram supplied by Rengo News Agency)

Kobe, Sept. 19.—The Chinese Consulate here has refused to vise the passport of a young Russian pianist who is going to Shanghai on the ground that his passport was certified by Manchukuo which China does not recognise. Since Japan accorded formal recognition to Manchukuo, over 200 travellers from various countries arrived in Japan with the passports vised by Manchukuo. Should the Chinese authorities continue to refuse the certification of their passports, all these international travellers via Manchukuo will have to take other routes than originally scheduled. The solution of this matter is being watched with close attention.

Chinese Admiral Assassinated at Shanghai

Real Admiral Wu Kwang-tsung, chief of the Hydrographic Department of the Chinese navy, was assassinated at his residence, 16 Ningkongli alley, West Gate, Shanghai, September 21. The Admiral was 62 years old. Four gunmen, each armed with a Mauser automatic pistol, invaded the admiral's residence at 9.15 a.m. locked up his bodyguard and servants, pulled the admiral from his bedroom and fatally shot him. They escaped before an alarm could be raised. The admiral was immediately sent to the Lester Chinese Hospital, Shantung Road, where he succumbed at 11.25 a.m.

"Bandits" Still Harass Japanese Mines and Railways

Owing doubtless to the fact that the Japanese news correspondents had their attention mostly taken up with watching the celebration incidental to the recognition of Manchukuo there has been a certain paucity of reports concerning the activities of "bandits" in Manchuria during the week. However, the "bandits" still seem to be active as one of the telegrams stated that the running of trains on the Tsaonan-Angangchi railway had been temporarily suspended.

Attacks on the Fushun mines have continued. Two thousand members of the "Long Sword" group attacked the Fushun coal mine in the morning of September 16, details of which were given in a telegram to the headquarters of the South Manchuria Railway. The attackers set fire to the mine offices, lodging houses of the miners and quarters of office employees. Seven Japanese were wounded. The attack was repulsed, after a three-hour battle. Owing to the frequent appearance of bandits at Fushun and other points along the South Manchuria Railway, the employees of the S.M.R. held a mass meeting September 16 and resolved to send two representatives to Mukden to request General Muto to obtain more Japanese troops for Manchuria.

About 1,000 soldier-bandits also attacked the Shuangchen walled city on the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway on the same date. The "bandits" started fires at about 15 points in the city and plundered the town, amidst the wildest confusion. All communications were severed.

Anti-Manchukuo forces occupied several stations on the western section of the Chinese Eastern Railway Sept. 16, surrounding the Japanese garrisons. Further Japanese troops are being sent from Tsitsihar, the provincial capital of Heilungkiang, to relieve the beleagured forces. Messages from Harbin assert that the populace there is becoming increasingly nervous owing to the rampancy of kidnapping and other dangers. As a result, it is stated, the Consular Body is requesting the authorities to take steps to cope with the situation.

The Manchukuo garrison at Kirin City, capital of Kirin Province, is stated in Chinese reports to be sorely harassed as the result of combined attacks launched by General Wang Teh-ling's troops and Volunteers under the command of General Feng Chan-hai. Traffic on the Kirin-Hailung and Kirin-Tunhua railways has been interrupted. General Ma Chan-shan has wired Nanking urging again the despatch of troops outside the Great Wall to "punish the rebels."

Six thousand Volunteers under Keng Chi-chou stormed the Tasipienmen (Great Western Gate) of Mukden September 17. Volunteers in eastern Liaoning under Tang Shu-wu are also harassing the Japanese at Fushun, Peitaying (North barracks) and Siling.

According to a despatch from Chengte, provincial capital of Jehol, Japanese troop movements at Chinsi, western Liaoning, have been very much in evidence since September 16, indicating that a third invasion of Jehol is soon to take place. General Tang Yu-lin, Chairman of the Jehol Provincial Government, has telegraphed to the Central authorities for instructions.

New Japanese Consul Arrives in Shanghai

Itaro Ishii, the new Japanese Consul General in Shanghai succeeding K. Murai, arrived in Shanghai September 20. He is a graduate of Tung Wen College in Shanghai, and was at first connected with the South Manchuria Railway Company. In 1913 he passed the examination of the diplomatic service, and joined the Consulate General in Shanghai. Since that time he has been stationed in the U, S. A., America, Mexico, Great Britain and other countries in consular and diplomatic capacities. His latest post was at Kirin, where he was Consul General.

Postal Savings Deposits Held Up at Harbin

A recent telegram from Harbin stated that the Postal Commissioner in that city refuses to permit withdrawals from the Post Office Savings Bank as the depositors' funds are being held up by the Chinese Postal Administration. In addition, it is impossible to verify the depositors' accounts as many of the records are being withheld by previous employees. Payment of withdrawals will be permissible when the depositors' accounts are verified by the Chinese Postal Administration.

Mrs. Dagny Carter Murphy Discusses Modern Tendencies in Chinese Art

Mrs. Dagny Carter Murphy made an address before the Shanghai Art Club September 14 on "Present Day Tendencies in Chinese Art," illustrating her lecture with slides and a number of scrolls from her own collection by modern Chinese painters.

Mrs. Murphy, whose husband is the well-known architect, is well-known as an authority on art, both in China and the United States. Mrs. Murphy expressed the opinion the only form of Chinese art which has shown real life in the past 500 years is the art of pottery making. The 19th century saw a steady decline in Chinese porcelain and there was a tragic decline in artistic value, she said. The spirit of nationalism which was born when the Chinese threw off the yoke of the Manchu Dynasty some 20 years ago was almost immediately felt in a renaissance in art and there has been a steadfast desire on the part of China's cultural leaders to restore the significance of ancient art. New deposits for the porcelain work have been found in Anhwei and research centers have their headquarters in Shanghai.

Mrs. Carter has in the meantime sailed for the United States, where she will deliver a series of lectures.

Several Bomb Throwing Incidents in Shanghai ---Little Damage Done

Several further incidents of bomb-throwing in connection with the Japanese boycott occurred during the week, among the victims being the Fu Hsiang Kee Foreign Goods Shop, Rue du Consulat, which was hit by a bomb that did not explode. The shop was declared to be dealing in Japanese goods. The youth who tossed the bomb was dressed in foreign clothes and appeared in the shop with the usual warning from the "bloody groups." Driving all shop assistants into one corner, he tossed the bomb near the cashier's desk. Several weeks previously the shop had received a written warning. Another similar attack was made on the Ming Hwa Satin Company, Nanking Road, but only damaged a window glass of the shop. Ho Yi-chou, manager of the shop, was warned against unpacking his Japanese goods for sale some weeks ago by the group, but the warning was unheeded, it was stated.

These bomb throwings are generally frowned upon by the more responsible supporters of the boycott, who urge the boycott on patriotic grounds rather than on a basis of intimidation. It is frequently shown that these bomb-throwing groups are "racketeers," rather than patriots.

Latest New York Stock Exchange Quotations

Market:—Firm Business Done 1,300,000 Shares

Sept. 21, 1932

1931-1932 High	1931-1932 Low	Div.$ per Sh.	STOCKS	Mon. Sept.19	Tues. Sept. 20
9⅝	1⅝	—	Adams Express	6⅛	6⅝
87½	42½	*6.00	Allied Chemical & Dye	71⅜	74¾
14½	4	—	Allis Chalmers	9½	9½
73⅞	29⅝	*4.00	American Can	48¼	50⅞
14½	2	—	Amer. & Foreign Power	8	8¾
9⅝	1⅛	—	Amer. & For. Power W.	5½	6
26½	5¼	—	American Smelting	15⅝	17
137⅝	70¼	9.00	American Tel. & Tel.	108	108¼
86¾	44	*5.00	American Tobacco "B"	73¾	75⅞
34⅛	11	2.00	American Waterworks	22⅛	23
18⅜	3	—	Anaconda Copper	10¾	11⅝
151¾	28¾	*4.00	Auburn Automobiles	49	51¼
21⅜	3¾	—	Baltimore & Ohio	15¾	16⅝
29	7¼	—	Bethlehem Steel	19	20½
43⅛	20	*2.00	Borden Company	27⅝	28¼
13½	3⅜	—	Borg Warner	10⅜	11¼
20⅝	7¼	—	Canadian Pacific Railway	15⅝	16⅞
63¾	16¾	—	Case, J. I.	42	46
47⅞	19	2.00	Chase Bank	37¾	41⅛
20⅝	4⅞	2.00	Chesapeake Corp.	14½	15
21	5	1.00	Chrysler	15⅝	16¾
6⅞	1¼	—	Cities Service Co.	3⅞	4
20⅞	4¼	1.00	Columbia Gas & Electric	14½	15⅝
5	1⅝	.30	Commonwealth & Southern	3⅝	3⅝
15/16	1/16	—	" " warr.	11/16	11/16
68¾	31½	4.00	Consolidated Gas. of N.Y.	55¼	57¼
9⅛	3⅝	—	Continental Oil	6⅜	6⅜
50	24¾	*3.00	Corn Products	46¼	48
4¾	1½	—	Coty Inc.	Not	5
3	⅞	—	Curtiss Wright Co.	2	2⅛
57	23	4.00	Drug Incorporated	42	41⅝
59¾	22⅛	2.00	Du Pont de Nemours	35¾	37⅜
87⅞	35¼	3.00	Eastman Kodak	50¾	53¼
15¼	5	6% S	Electric Bond & Share	24⅝	27⅝
15½	2¾	—	Electric Power & Light	9⅜	10
5⅝	1	—	Fox Film "A"	3	3⅛
26⅛	8½	.40	General Electric	16½	17⅝
40½	19⅝	2.00	General Foods	28½	29¼
24⅝	7⅝	1.00	General Motors	15	15¾
28⅝	6⅛	1.00	General Railway Signal	16	16
24¼	10⅜	1.00	Gillette Safety Razor	17⅜	18¼
19⅞	8¼	1.60	Gold Dust	16⅛	17⅜
11⅝	2¼	—	Goodrich Rubber	7	7¾
28⅜	5½	—	Goodyear Tire & Rubber	19	20¼
18¾	3⅝	—	International Cement	10⅜	10½
1⅞	½	—	International Combu. Eng.	⅞	⅞
32¾	10⅜	1.20	International Harvester	21⅝	23⅛
12¼	3½	—	International Nickel	8½	9
15½	2⅜	—	International Tel. & Tel.	10⅜	10⅞
31½	10	—	Johns Manville	25	27¼
19	4⅞	—	Kennecott	11⅞	12¼
9⅛	1/32	—	Kreuger & Toll	¼	¼
65½	32⅛	*4.00	Liggett & Myers, "B"	59⅛	60⅝
36⅞	13¼	*3.00	Loew's: Inc.	28¾	31¼
17½	9	1.20	Lorillard P. Co. (com.)	14½	15
11⅜	1½	—	Ludlum Steel	6½	Unq.
15¼	3½	—	Montgomery Ward	11⅜	12⅜
64½	23¾	20.0	National City Bk. bid price	47½	53
9⅞	2½	—	Nevada Copper	Unq.	Unq.
36⅝	8¾	—	New York Central	24	25⅝
42¾	13¾	10%S	North American Co.	30½	32
37	16⅞	2.00	Pacific Gas & Electric	29⅛	30
5¼	1½	—	Packard Motors	3½	3½
11½	1½	—	Paramount—Publix. Corp.	3⅞	4
23⅜	6½	—	Pennsylvania Railroad	17⅛	18
4¼	1	—	Pennroad Corporation	3	3
8	2	—	Phillips Petroleum	6	6
60	28	3.20	Public Service of N. Jersey	48	49
12½	2½	—	Radio Corporation	8	8⅝
7⅛	1½	—	Radio-Keith Orpheum	4¾	5
45⅝	26½	3.00	Reynolds Tobacco "B"	33⅞	33⅞
37⅜	9⅞	—	Sears Roebuck	19⅝	21¼
8¾	2½	—	Shell Union	6¾	6⅞
12⅝	3	—	Simmons Company	8	8
12⅛	5¼	.80	Socony-Vacuum Corp.	9⅞	10
32¾	15¾	2.00	SouthernCaliforniaEdison.	26¾	27
34¼	7⅝	2 00	Standard Gas & Electric	18¾	19¾
37¼	19⅞	*1.00	Standard Oil of N. Jersey	30½	31½
17¾	9¼	1 00	Texas Corporation	13¾	13¾
26¾	12	2.00	Texas Gulf Sulphur	20¼	20¼
7	2⅛	—	Trans America	5½	5⅝
36⅝	15½	1.20	Union Carbide & Carbon	23¼	24¾
94½	27⅝	6.00	Union Pacific Railway	69¾	72⅜
32¼	6½	—	United Aircraft & Trans.	22¾	27¼
13⅜	3½	.40	United Corporation	9⅞	10¼
21⅞	9¼	1.20	United Gas Improvement	18½	19¼
9¾	1¼	—	U.S. Rubber	6	6¼
52⅝	21¼	—	U.S. Steel	36¼	37⅝
23¼	5¼	—	Vanadium	13¾	14⅝
4½	½	—	Warner Bros. Pictures	2¾	2⅞
43½	15⅞	—	Westinghouse E. & M.	28⅜	31
45⅝	22	2.40	Woolworth	36¾	37½
*Plus extras			Call Money	2%	2%

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British Victims of Bandits at Newchwang Still in Captivity

The case of Mrs. Pawley and Mr. Corkran, the two British subjects who were taken by bandits near Newchwang several weeks ago, has aroused strong indigination in the British press. The London *Daily Mail* has offered a sum of £10,000 to be paid to secure their rescue. The money may be used either as a ransom or in payment of expenses to bring them to safety. The bandits have made the usual extravagant demands for huge sums of money, supplying of arms, etc., and when General Muto, the Manchukuo dictator was approached by the British authorities on the matter, the General mentioned that immunity for the bandits would have to be considered in the negotiations. A humorous touch to the incident has been given by a letter said to have been written by Mrs. Pawley from captivity to her relatives asking them to get her out of "this hell incarnate," but at the same time mentioning not to forget to send her some lipstick and face powder. In connection with the incident at Harbin where British employees of the Hongkong Bank were almost abducted while playing golf it now transpires that G. C. Hanson, the American Consul at Harbin, was one of the party that helped in driving the bandits off by a vigorous swinging of golfsticks.

China Makes Payment Towards League Commission Expenses

The Chinese government notified the secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva on September 14 of a payment of G.$149,000, which includes an instalment on account of arrears of subscription to the League of Nations and a contribution for the current year besides $25,000 on account of the expenses of the Lytton commission of inquiry.

The Japanese government also informed the secretariat of payment of G.$50,000, the Japanese share of the expenses of the Lytton commission.

WHAT EVERY WOMAN NEEDS.

What every woman needs is plenty of pure rich blood in her veins. For upon the blood depends her health, and upon her health depend her good looks, her energy and her happiness.

Nature makes special demands upon a woman's blood-stream, and when this is impoverished there follow those ailments peculiar to women, those wearisome backpains, the irregular and painful periods, digestive troubles also, with nervousness, sleeplessness and physical weakness.

Mlle. G. Tournier

The special friend of women, known and used by countless women in seventy-two countries, is Dr. Williams' Pink Pills, the remedy that makes new rich blood.

Writing from her home at 22 Garan Duret. Lyone, France, Mlle. G. Tournier states:

"I could not praise Dr. Williams' Pink Pills too highly, for it is this remedy to which after eighteen months suffering, I owe my recovery. I suffered badly with stomach troubles and pains in the side. I could scarcely eat and digestion was difficult. Dr. Williams' Pink Pills have set me free from all my ill-health and built me up again."

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills, the world-famous, blood-making, nerve restoring tonic pills are obtainable from all chemists and medicine dealers. Refuse substitutes. Nothing else is just as good.

The National City Co. Gold Bond Quotations Received From Head Office

Sept. 15, 1932,

SECURITY	RATE & DATE DUE			Price	Approx Yield %
The National City Bank of New York	Stock			46	—
Argentine Government	6 %	May 1,	1960	46½	—
U. S. of Brazil	6½%	Oct. 15,	1957	18¼	—
Republic of Finland	6½%	Sep. 1,	1956	68½	9.97
German Central Bank for Agriculture	6 %	Oct. 15,	1960	47¼	—
Kingdom of Italy	7 %	Dec. 1,	1951	94¾	7.52
State of Minas Geraes Series "A"	6½%	Sep. 1,	1959	13¾	—
State of Sao Paulo (Brazil)	7 %	Oct. 1,	1940	52½	—
American I.G. Chemical Corporation	5½%	May 1,	1949	79½	7.68
Rhine Westphalia Electric Power Corp.	6 %	Apr. 1,	1955	51	12.59

QUOTATIONS RECEIVED FROM LONDON OFFICE

Republic of China Gold Loan	5 %	1925	64½	—
Chinese Govt. Re-org. (£) Loan Stamped	5 %	1913/60	67	—
Chinese Govt. Re-org. (£) Loan Unstamped	5 %	1913/60	66	—
Chinese Government (Crisp Loan)	5 %	1912	44½	—
Shanghai-Nanking Railway	5 %	1904/08	40	—
Shanghai - Hangchow-Ningpo Railway	5 %	1908/58	62	—
Hukuang Railway	5 %	1911/1951	21	—
Tientsin-Pukow Railway	5 %	1908/09	22	—

NOTE: The above quotations are received by cable and whilst believed to be correct are not guaranteed.

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The National City Bank of New York, Rates of Exchange

Shanghai, Sept. 21, 1932

Demand selling rate on America:	U.S. $1.00=Sh. $4.7702
Demand buying rate on America:	U.S. $1.00=Sh. $4.6657
Demand selling rate on London:	£1.0.0=Sh. $16.541
Demand buying rate on London:	£1.0.0=Sh. $16.204

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